THE

MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

MAGAZINE.

AUGUST, 1885.

*THE PREPARATION OF THE GOSPEL.**

I.—The preparation in the religious and moral philosophy of the Gentile world.

This subject is a very wide one, and cannot be dealt with adequately under one head, I shall therefore discuss it under two or three aspects. My object is to show that by various dispensations in the Divine providence the world was gradually prepared for the Messiah—the Christ, and that when Jesus of Nazareth came and claimed to be the Messiah, it was, as St. Paul says, "the fulness of time."

1. It has been said that Religion begins and ends in awe, and the awe with which Newton worshipped God must have been much more real than that superstitious dread that is begotten of ignorance. No rational being can avoid reflecting on himself and the world around him, and this reflection has ever led mankind to recognize a Supreme Being, and recognizing Him to worship Him in some form or other. This is natural religion. Nature is God manifest in the external universe, and of this universe the solar system being the most glorious and vast, (besides that man's life upon earth is

* The substance of this and the following papers was given in a course of Lectures delivered in the Noble Memorial Hall, Masulipatam.

absolutely dependent on its order and continuance,) became the object not only of awe and admiration, but of worship and adoration, so that Sun, Moon and Stars were deified. Yet the philosopher would see in their beauty and order evidence of a mind and a power behind them which he would be worshipping while conforming to the popular rites.

The argument from design is urged no less forcibly by Socrates and Cicero than by Paley; and Addison in introducing his magnificent Ode—a paraphrase of Ps. xix,—thus speaks:—"The Supreme Being has made the best arguments for His own existence in the formation of the heavens and the earth, and these are arguments which a man of sense cannot forbear attending to. Aristotle says that should a man live under ground, and there converse with works of art and mechanism, and should afterwards be brought up into the open day, and see the several glories of the heaven and earth, he would immediately pronounce them the works of such a being as we define God to be." I will quote the third Stanza of his Ode—a worthy seal of approval to Aristotle's judgment, as it is a worthy rendering of the inspired Psalmist's thoughts:—

> "What though in solemn silence, all
> Move round the dark terrestrial ball?
> What though no real voice nor sound
> Amid their radiant orbs be found?
> In Reason's ear they all rejoice,
> And utter forth a glorious voice,
> For ever singing as they shine,
> 'The hand that made us is Divine.'"

The same thought is expressed by Milton, who makes our first parents, on beholding the beauty of nature, exclaim:—

> "These are Thy glorious works, Parent of good,
> Almighty, thine this universal frame,
> Thus wondrous fair, Thyself how wondrous then!"

2. But a yet more cogent argument for God lies in man himself. As there is evident design in every detail of the structure of every plant and animal, so in the larger view of the *summa genera*, or the widest classes under which things may be grouped, the same principle is to be noted. Science speaks of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. It shows us, however, how each serves that which is above it, and is necessary to its existence, and that the order of creation was in a gradually ascending scale. First, minerals, that is to say, water and earth, were made and *prepared* for the

vegetable world, and this again, after long processes, for the higher world of animals; and last of all appears man, the head of the animals because endowed with the divine gift of reason which is his peculiar glory, the image of his Maker. And so as the whole Universe begins and ends in God, man is a μικροκόσμος as the Greek philosophy said, a picture in miniature of God under human conditions and in an earthly habitation. This Milton hints at in his "*human face divine.*" This Shakespeare attempts to express in Hamlet:—"What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a God! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust?" Now in this last remark lies the whole point of that passage. It is the staggering fall, the bitter irony that with all this divine endowment man is after all the "quintessence of dust," not merely in the literal sense but far more deeply in the moral. Who does not feel that that marvellous description of a man is false as well as true? The contradiction, the paradox, was that which was weighing on Hamlet. It is the problem in which religion and philosophy have to meet; it is the fall for which they have to provide the remedy.

For the image of God in man is blotted and marred, its beauty is spoilt, and that which remains serves but as an intimation of what he once was, and yet more a prophecy of what he perchance might yet become. Instead of κοσμος, beauty and order in himself and in society, instead of moral beauty which is the harmonious adjustment of the affections, will, and reason, man finds his will set against his reason, and both under the sway of his affections; the flesh overcoming the spirit, the lower over-topping the higher, the seen shutting out the unseen, the temporal of more account than the eternal. Poets and philosophers no less than theologians have seen and deplored this moral chaos. Ovid's *video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor* is but in other words St. Paul's sad confession, "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do."

3. What then was the remedy proposed by Greek and Roman philosophy. The Stoic tried to be αὐτάρκης self-sufficing like the gods. We are too much beholden to our outward surroundings for our happiness; let us hold ourselves high in the consciousness of our own dignity; let conscience and duty be our guides; let us 'scorn delights and live laborious days.' There was much in Stoic-

ism that was admirable, and that will always command respect. But it was confessedly a doctrine and a life for the select few, who could not but regard the many with contemptuous pride. Moreover, it ran counter to the instincts of the human race by its doctrine of selfish isolation, for man is essentially a social animal, and cannot with impunity ignore the mutual rights and duties of the community of which he is a part. It was a failure as well in the individual as in the society. Seneca one of the best of Stoics winked at the abominable vices of his pupil Nero, and connived at the murder of his mother.

On the other hand, there was the Epicurean school, whose motto was, as propounded by Horace, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." "Let us live while we live, and since life is so uncertain make the most of it while we may." Doubtless there is "some soul of good" even in this evil thing, inasmuch as it is a protest against the unnatural gloom and isolation of the proud, unbending, unsympathetic Stoic. But in effect it was an ignoble surrender of the higher part to the lower; it was a shameless capitulation of the citadel of reason and conscience to the traitorous passions that ever beset it. It meant materialism, sensualism, atheism. Such doctrine, alas! whenever it is recommended under the profaned sanction of philosephy, finds plenty of adherents, it is only too popular. *Facilis descensus averni.* Religion and morals are alike gone or only to be used for mirth and laughter. The Epicurean's "god is his belly, he minds earthly things." He is "earthly," "sensual," and must, if he pursues his course, become "devilish." Such capacity of degradation has man over the other animals. It is the natural product of an inevitable law. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* Such were the principles and tendencies of the two leading schools of philosophy before Christ, and round one or the other all human philosophy ranges. Human wisdom attained its highest form in them. Reason condemns both as remedies for the corruption of human society, the one as not being human enough, the other as being too human. And the verdict of history may be read (but is not fit to be reproduced) in the pages of Tacitus and Juvenal, and may be seen emblazoned in colours of shame on the walls of exhumed Pompeii.

4. Thus confessedly the religion and morals of the Gentile world had alike proved a failure. Man could not save himself and he had lost all faith in the gods. Yet there were not wanting those who like Socrates had intimations of a better way, and proclaimed it so

far as they knew it. Socrates was as a prophet to his own people, and he shared a prophet's reward of death at their hands. The Oracle declared him the wisest of men because he knew himself to be ignorant. He went to the market-place and wherever the youth congregated, and fascinated them by his peculiar method of conversation, in which under a playful simplicity he concealed a definite seriousness of purpose. The Socratic irony has become proverbial, as also a certain drollery in his appearance and gait. "Know thyself" was his text, and it contains a mine of wisdom. To know oneself is to know one's ignorance, and that is the first step to knowledge. Reflection on oneself would lead to (1) a sense of humility, of awe in the face of so many mysteries, and among them that of our great capacity for knowing God and our great ignorance of Him. This sense of "infinite faculty" and poor attainment has ever been to men the highest proof of their immortality, and when we add to this the inequality of rewards and punishments here with the evident *tendency* of virtue to prevail over vice, we feel compelled to look for another and higher sphere of life in which virtue shall be no longer militant but triumphant. Such thoughts on one's present conditions would naturally lead (2) to a sense of the folly of imagining and worshipping gods like ourselves, who have brought no deliverance but much evil into the world.

Socrates in Plato's *Republic* insists on this at great length, and gains the assent of all when he proposes to banish from the curriculum of study Homer and the rest of the poets, because it was not well that boys should be taught to have such a mean opinion of the gods as to suppose that they would fight, and be jealous, and thieve, and commit adultery and such like evil deeds, lest by imitating them they should corrupt themselves. Now the man who "knows himself," or as Solomon puts it, "knows the plague of his own heart," be his knowledge more or less, will be dissatisfied with a religion of externals that leaves his heart uncleansed, much more will he turn from gods who are themselves unclean.

From all this it is easy to understand the charge brought against Socrates of introducing καινὰ δαιμόνια, that is, a new kind of gods. It was the attempt to express in popular form the general dislike at the result of his teaching on the youth in regard to religion. From the new (ἀφορμὴ) starting-point of self-reflection nothing else but a total revolution in religious thought could follow. Young men thus taught to "prove all things" could not blindly put themselves into the unthinking attitude of their fathers.

5. Here then amid the darkness of the pagan world we have a "wandering fire" reflecting, feebly it may be, a portion of the "true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and we need not deny Socrates the glorious name of martyr for the truth. Moreover, as with prophetic instinct he had sketched out the character of the perfect man—that "Just One" which the world wanted but had never seen as yet, who should do good and get the credit of ill, who should be reviled but would not revile again, and at length should, by the malice of his fellows, and simply through hatred of truth and goodness, be put to a shameful death at their hands.

It was a beautiful ideal and nothing more to him, but when "the fulness of time" (foretold with increasing definiteness by each successive Jewish prophet) of the coming of a real personal Messiah drew near, whether it was by the spread of the Jewish Scriptures among the nations where they were scattered, or whether it was by the very weariness and decay of their own obsolete and effete systems of belief, however it was, certain it is that seers and poets other than Jewish were eagerly expecting the inauguration of a new and better era by a heaven-born glorious King who should establish a world-wide empire and restore the golden age which had been lost. The Sibylline books, Virgil in his 4th eclogue, Tacitus, Suetonius, are evidence sufficient in proof of this, if any be required; and the visit of the Magi, who represented the wisdom of the East at the cradle of Jesus Christ, with their earnest enquiry at the royal palace of Herod "Where is he that is born King of the Jews, for we have seen his star in the East and are come to worship him?" will answer for the feelings of the priests and seers of the Eastern world.

Thus, alike in religion and morals, there was a preparation for Christ in the history of thought among the leading nations of the world, in the *conviction* that a great change was coming; in the *confession* that it was sorely needed; among the better sort a *longing* for its coming, and among all a *growing anticipation* of its near approach.

E. NOEL HODGES

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY.

In India as elsewhere, Christianity has been mainly represented to inquirers as a matter for the individual alone. In Europe to-day,

and for some years past, an increasing school of thinkers and workers have been seeking in its social and economical aspects an answer to the social and economical questions which are the serious problems of the times. It may not be amiss to call attention in this country to this side of Christianity, and for this purpose nothing seems to me more suitable than an account of Huet's *Le Règne Social du Christianisme*, to which my attention was originally drawn by references to it in M. de Laveleye's *Primitive Property*. In his *Socialisme Contemporain* the same author tells us that—

"François Huet was born in 1814, at the village of Villeau in Beauce, and died at Paris in 1869. A pupil of the Collège Stanislas and an incomparable worker, he was appointed at twenty-two professor of philosophy at the University of Ghent, and retained the chair until 1850. He was the disciple of Bordas-Desmoulins, a spiritualist philosopher and a singularly vigorous mind, and through him of Descartes and Plato. Protestant to the end against Ultramontanism and its new dogmas, they were the last of the Gallicans of the school of Pascal and Bossuet. About 1846 his philosophical studies led Huet to approach social questions. The same was the case with most of the philosophers of our time, Jules Simon, Janet, Caro, in France; Herbert Spencer in England; Fichte and the Hegelians in Germany; Rosmini and Mamiani in Italy. At Ghent, Huet collected around him a group of his pupils, who studied the different systems of social reform thoroughly and each with his own preferences. It was in the discussions of this circle of friends all impregnated with the equalitarian ideas of our master, that convictions were formed in me, which have never since varied, but have been confirmed by contemporary history. Huet published besides *La Science d' Esprit* (2 vols. 8vo., Chamerot, 1864). He directed the education of the prince Milan, now king of Servia, whom he followed even to Belgrade. Returning to Paris to be treated for a serious malady he succumbed to the results of an operation. His friends raised him a monument in the Mont Parnasse cemetery."

Of the ideas contained in *Le Règne Social du Christianisme*, M. de Laveleye says that Huet got them—

"Straight from the highest moral inspirations of Platonism and Christianity. This work, whose every page is bright with an ardent love of righteousness, contains a complete theory of society or sociology based on Christianity, which has not obtained the celebrity it merited because it is too Christian for Socialists, and too Socialist for Christians."

Its value, he also says, consists not in its too summary proposals for social reorganisation,

"But in the principles of righteousness which it luminously sets forth and links in intimate connexion with the traditions of the Bible and Christianity."

I now propose, without unduly neglecting the economical theories of the work, to dwell more at length on its exposition of

the social and economical meaning of Christianity; and I have not deemed it necessary to elaborate so much of the argument as is based on grounds which will not carry persuasion to those who do not belong to the Roman Catholic division of the Christian Church. My aim is to give an account of what the book says, without comment, or expression, except in one or two cases, of assent or dissent. I must therefore not be understood necessarily to concur in all that is said.

It must be mentioned that the word *justice* has throughout been translated 'righteousness,' except where the context requires 'justice,' and that after much consideration I have decided to render *liberté* and *fraternité*, which so constantly occur, by 'freedom' and 'brotherhood' rather than 'liberty' and 'fraternity,' in the hope chiefly of bringing back to the celebrated phrase which uses both, something of the original freshness of which constant repetition as a hackneyed formula has tended to rob it.

I.

The plan of the book is described as being—

"To grasp the innermost idea of society, to deduce from it our duties along with our rights; to bring together the moral, political, and economic truths which belong to, or are dawning upon our age, and, as they are thus disclosed to our reason, to find out the immortal germ of them in the Holy Scriptures, in the teachings of Catholic tradition, in the primitive constitution of the Church; to rest freedom and modern progress on the old faith; to discover beneath our errors and excesses the hidden working of Providence, and make clear to all the spiritual greatness, the holiness, I make bold to say, of the revolution, which, at this day, is throughout Christendom relieving the poor and setting free the oppressed."

Two great powers,—the one, the Church, and its doctrine, Christianity, the other, the Revolution, and its doctrine, Socialism,—were, when he wrote in 1850-51, as now, endangering the stability of the world; and then as now no agreement was thought possible between them. One of the two must, it was thought, be destroyed in order to give the other exclusive dominion, and to the world rest and happiness.

"A very different conviction," he says, "has long since grown up in my mind. I have meditated by the light of the new times, on the mission of the Saviour of the world; I have drawn from the sacred springs the social teaching of Christianity, and removing from it what comes from men, in order to keep myself to what comes from God, I found clearly that Christian redemption consists not only in producing through the Church citizens for heaven, but also in setting up here below a civil society, free and brotherly, the same

as that for which the Revolution, purified of its excesses, ought to ensure victory. I have with impartial eagerness, questioned also the different doctrines which, under the name of Socialism, have stirred our age to such depths; I have collected all the wishes, all the promises of economics and politics; and, removing what comes from passion or ignorance, in order to keep myself to what springs from the general movement of minds, and is adopted by the people's instinct, it was to me no less clear that the ideas of enfranchisement, which are preached as a new revelation, either faithfully reproduce the Gospel, or are the necessary consequences of its dogmas."

The Church and the Revolution, he goes on to say, far from excluding, are necessary to each other. Christianity is the principle of which the new civilisation is the consequence. In the new social dogma, Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood, breathes the primitive spirit of the Church. By proscribing the Revolution, the Church is denying the fruit of her womb, restoring Pagan society, betraying Jesus Christ in the person of the poor. But Socialism on the other hand by rejecting Christianity and the Church, and contracting an unnatural alliance with materialism and anarchy, equally denies its origin, and condemns itself to inevitable defeat.

II.

The main work is divided into four books of which the first is devoted to the consideration of 'society in general.' Christianity, he says, contains the doctrine and the way of perfection. 'Be perfect like God' is its great commandment (Gen. xvii. 1., Matt. v. 48.) Hence comes a principle of universal progress, a divine plan of reform embracing earth and heaven: *He purposed to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon the earth.* (Eph. i. 9, 10.) *In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace till the moon be no more.* (Psa. lxxii. 7.) The reign of righteousness is the distinctive mark of the Christian society, and he proposes to consider what are, according alike to reason and the Gospel, the laws of this immutable righteousness; and first, what is society.

Man is not made to live entirely in himself. The wants of his spirit and his body draw him ever towards other beings, and above all towards his fellow men. He is only strong, intelligent, and happy, when in commerce with other men. *Two are better than one.; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth, and he hath not another to lift him up. Again, if two lie together, then they have warmth: but how can one be warm alone?* (Eccles. iv. 9, 10, 11.) Take away exchange of thoughts, family

joys, friendship's sweetness, mutual help in work, and human existence would languish, civilisation become extinct. Isolation is so contrary to nature, that the law has been able to make of it a punishment for criminals. Who does not feel that a part of his mind lives in his brethren's? Who does not feel the truth of the words, *It is not good that the man should be alone.* (Gen. ii. 18.)?

"Human nature," he says, "at bottom is one and the same in all men, a sort of common soul, which breathes in them, penetrates them, ties them together, gives them solidarity. But all likewise, as distinct individuals, have their own manner of being, and bear the stamp of an ineffaceable personality, attested by the extraordinary variety of different characters, dispositions, and talents."

This is the twofold foundation of society, which is the result at once of the radical unity of the race, and of its essential diversity. While oneness of nature brings men of all times and countries together, the differences of individuals, equally promote life in society. For the fulness of qualities which is found in the whole race, but not wholly in any one alone, may be acquired by all, if they come together. Thus the definition of society is "a natural state of union between beings of the same kind, in which each communicates to the other his own advantages."

In the living body, he says,—

"The strict connexion of the members is kept up by general forces common to them, but without excluding differences between them, of tissues, properties, and functions. On the contrary, superiority of organisation in the animal kingdom, results no less from the number, variety and pronounced distinction of the parts, than from their sympathy, accord, and solidarity. The body prospers because each organ is full of sap and vigour in its ultimate molecules, because all fulfil their own functions without encroaching, and each partakes according to its nature in the advantages of the community. This is a striking picture of society, the moral body, in which by the voluntary bond of love, stronger than any organic sympathy, we become, as St. Paul says, (Rom. xii. 5., Eph. iv. 25.) members one of another. In society too each man, free in his movements, has to develop his natural aptitudes to the good of all, and to give them whatever his individuality holds that is good and precious. The more energetic, intelligent, and loving the individuals, the more perfect the society. Without the members, what is the body? Nothing. Take from them the life that belongs to each, and you have nothing but a corpse."

There is no real opposition, as is supposed, between individuals and society; for society is nothing but the whole body of individuals in their natural state of union. It is only to be distinguished from the individual, as the whole is from the part. The body

should only exist for the members which make it a reality, and to perfect the individual is the be-all and end-all of society.

Next, right is what belongs to a man and cannot be taken from him without violating his nature and fettering his destiny. Natural rights, specially so called, are those which are attached to the rank of man, independently of act or convention. They are primitive, inalienable, and beyond proscription, and are the source of all other rights, the very substance of righteousness, the first law of society. But whether primitive or derived, they properly reside only in the individuals who possess them. A body however numerous, a people, a state, a collection of states, has no rights of itself, but only those which it borrows from the individuals who form it. The rights of society and the individual are not in opposition, but the rights of the latter include his rights as a member of the former.

The ideal of society is that unity which is called in Christian language, the Communion of Saints. Religion is essential to reaching it. *Every good gift, and every perfect boon is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights.* (Jas. i. 17.) Religion guides men by loving God to love their fellows. He who loves not God, loves only himself, so that religion, the fellowship of the soul and God, is essential to society, the fellowship of men. Without it we have only chaos; its progress and society's have always been bound up together. The Communion of Saints is founded upon the sovereignty of God.

III.

Man's vices would make him prey upon his kind, and drive each man apart from his fellows, but the social instinct is stronger than such fears; the craving for love, no less than the limited area of the earth, compels men to come together. Division of labour follows, and it becomes impossible to separate. Thus natural society is formed. Now rights would be non-existent if they could be violated with impunity. Hence the right of self-defence and of punishing wrong doers, to exercise which on behalf of all, that is, of the natural society, political society comes into existence, being the regular and permanent organisation of force in the service of righteousness, while government is the total of the powers by which it subsists. In the childhood of reason, men in their weakness resigned their natural rights in favour of the State, which, instead of the centre of common defence, became an instrument of dominion. Its chiefs, though styled fathers and pastors, ruled by terror, and forcibly controlled thought, religion, and feeling. Thus true society was

not, until Christianity taught the people to repudiate the rule of brute force, and seek for a State which should secure them personal safety, without depriving them of freedom, enlightenment, right, the things which make life worth living.

Security for rights is the object of political society rationally conceived. It is intended to protect natural society, and not to suppress and fetter, but to sustain and fortify human reason. It must therefore be free, so far at least as that the people govern themselves, and obey only laws made by themselves. It must also confine itself to the overt, to what is susceptible of constraint; it must not try to dive into the conscience, or regulate opinions and sentiment. Public authority must only be invoked in respect of overt violations of right, capable of being proved by evidence; obligations beyond the ken of the law there must always be, and to be an honest man it is not enough to escape hanging. In a word the essence of government is to protect the good and repress the bad, that is, to help the free action of good citizens, not to act for them or play the part of universal providence, by thinking, praying, working, saving for every one. This is no humble sphere to occupy, for the defence of natural rights involves all kinds of interests, religious, intellectual, economical, political, and has never yet been properly undertaken, much less accomplished.

Such then is the object of government. As to its origin, we must distinguish between its origin historically and philosophically. The former has varied from case to case, the latter is always the same, namely, the corruption and weakness of human nature, which requires to be kept in order. Just as the art of healing will continue necessary until the yoke of death is broken, and our bodies are made incorruptible, so government will only become unnecessary when man is fully regenerate, when the Communion of Saints shall be accomplished, and God shall be all in all. Pending these events —which will come together,—we have to do our best to perfect our system, both in politics and medicine. Modern apostles of anarchy, who denounce government on principle, do so on Rousseau's false but widely adopted idea that man is born good, and is depraved by society, meaning political rather than natural society. But as we have seen, it is only man's depravity which makes political society or government necessary.

He then treats of the two false social theories of Individualism and Communism, and the true theory, which he calls Socialism. The

former arise from neglect of one part or the other of the twofold principle that as society exists for the individual, so the individual exists for society. The Individualism of Hobbes and Rousseau neglects man's capacity for society, Communism, whether of democratic theorists or of catholic theologians, his individuality. But true Socialism—

"Embraces the whole of human nature, hallows at once community and property, solidarity and freedom, makes man the natural associate, not the enemy or the superior, of his fellow men, makes not society, but God, his first author, recalls him to the principle of Gospel equality, *love thy neighbour as thyself,* overturns political idols, and does not deliver the mind over to the government, binds all the generations of man together, and binds mankind to God."

IV.

Next, premising that rights produce duties, the existence of a right involving the duty of observing and maintaining it, he enters upon the exposition of the three great natural rights, freedom, equality, and brotherhood.

The right to be free proceeds from men's attribute of thinking; the man only who can think, belongs to and governs himself, and the first, the most essential of rights, is that of individual self-government, that is, freedom,—" the right of every man to act and behave as he pleases, subject to liability for wrong to others.' This is the first essential of the true society, and every enlightened Socialist is necessarily a lover of freedom, every true lover of freedom a Socialist, not as is pretended, an Individualist; for freedom does not detach man from his fellows. It is only in the true social state that the individual has full scope; his resources are curtailed, if he depend upon himself alone. Equally little does liberty imply disorder, or irreligion. In the words of St. Leo, *Servire Deo regnare est.*

The second natural right is equality, "the inherent right of every man to be treated the same as other men, in the same circumstances, and if he possess the same personal qualities." It is essentially proportionable, taking cognisance of all kinds of personal merit, while peremptorily excluding all idea of any absolute, permanent, and universal superiority of man over man, such as man has over the brutes. It is also opposed to the equality propounded by Materialism, which would place knowledge and ignorance, crime and virtue, idleness and industry, stupidity and talent, on the same dead level of a sterile uniformity, where God has not made men equal. The ideal is to secure the distribution according to desert of esteem, political

right, profession, and fortune. But the most that the State or the legislator can attempt is to secure absolute equality before the law. In point of general human nature, all should be treated alike, in point of personal differences, each should be treated according to his own merit. But the Magistrate has to do only with the man, not with the individual; personal differences are beyond his ken, and any attempt to act upon them would only lead to haphazard decisions and despotism. Merit can however still exercise legitimate influence. For instance, for the election of representatives each elector has but one vote, each representative selected has but one vote; but before voting, the electors talk together, the representatives debate, and individual influence has its due effect.

The third natural right is brotherhood. *Love is the fulfilment of the law*, says St. Paul, (Rom. xiii, 10.); *Love and do what you will*, says St. Augustine. True society is complete when every man not only enjoys freedom, and claims no unrighteous superiority over his fellows, but also lives in his fellows as much as in himself, and makes their fate and fortunes his own. Thus brotherhood is "the right of every man to bind himself to other men by services and mutual benefits, to treat and be treated by them as a brother." But we must distinguish between legal brotherhood, and that which is simply moral. Legal brotherhood is the duty of all to help those who are in distress from no fault of their own, and to join in whatever is necessary for the public defence. Morally, brotherhood implies other duties of equal obligation, but beyond the ken of authority. How, for instance, could authority undertake to punish a man who was sinning against brotherhood by wasting talents which he might employ for the good of his fellows? how compel a son not only to support, but love, honour, and obey his parents? Even in enforcing legal brotherhood, the State must not interfere without an overt act of violation, nor, as Communism would have it, pry into private life and regulate everything, even to men's beliefs.

"Brotherhood, with freedom and equality completes the order of righteousness, and finishes the edifice of society. There is no particular right, spiritual or material, not going back to one of these parent rights, which themselves flow from one source. The same nature, whole and complete in every man, produces freedom when considered as reasonable, and equality and brotherhood when considered as one and the same in all. They are less three different rights than the three faces of absolute right corresponding to the faculties of the mind. Freedom is specially attached to power, equality to intelligence, brotherhood to love. Together they make up complete right, one and threefold like the human soul and like God. So straitly are they united that one

cannot be outraged without the other. To lay hands upon a free man is at the same time to outrage an equal and a brother. To upset equality, destroys also freedom and brotherhood, for the one's privilege restrains by so much the other's freedom, and every privilege is an act of schism in the great body of humanity. Lastly, it is evident that if brotherhood be touched, freedom and equality do not remain whole."

He then points out that of the false systems of society, Individualism, denying what is common to men, stops short with a selfish and savage freedom, unable to rise to equality and brotherhood, while Communism perverts the two latter, and destroys the former. Socialism alone unites the three in their own god-like harmony.

V.

M. Huet then proceeds to show that the three natural rights were unknown to antiquity, where, whether in the despotisms of the East, or in the republics of Greece and Rome, man was considered to belong not to himself but to the State, as is worked out in Plato's ideal commonwealth, which so far from being, as it is called, imaginary, is nothing else but a picture of the ideal of contemporary civilisation, especially that of Sparta.

It is, he goes on, to the teaching of one who was outwardly an obscure Jewish artizan, an unknown unit in the crowd of ancient civilisation, that the origin of modern civilisation is due. "His all-powerful word stirred the depths of the human mind, snatched it out of deadly lethargy, inflamed it with love for true good, gave it strength to break up the dominion of the senses, of Paganism and Judaism." He founded a purely spiritual society, from which force was excluded, which was governed by sweetness, reason, and brotherly agreement. He set thought free, and opened the road to all the conquests of modern freedom. A society which spread far and wide, with no bond but conviction, no authority but devotion, a society of freedom, equality, and brotherhood, a society in which the poor ruled, and the rich effaced themselves,—such a society was bound to have eventually a profound effect upon civil life. But it had first to recover from the effects of being brought face to face with God, and to learn to look not only at heaven, but also at its own place of abode here below.

The principles of the new society are to be found in the sacred writings from the beginning. The command, *Be fruitful,* (Gen. i. 28) sums up the law of individual progress, *Multiply,* that of social progress. It was Socialism that thundered the question to Cain, *Where is Abel thy brother?* And Cain was the first Individualist

when he replied, *I know not; am I my brother's keeper?* (Gen. iv. 9.) And the strain that began in Eden re-echoes through Moses' epic narrative, and David's immortal songs, and the inspired longings of the prophets, as a wonderful prelude to the bursting forth of the spirit of brotherhood in the Gospel.

When Jesus said, *All ye are brethren . . . . one is your father which is in heaven,* (Matt. xviii. 3, 9.) He made the old Pagan world of slavery and idolatry, of the *Saturnalia* and caste, rock on its foundation,—*Satan fell as lightning from heaven.* (Luke x. 18.) The victory of the new world, the world of devotion, of righteousness, and freedom is written in the Saviour's testamentary words; *I pray that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us.* (John xvii. 20, 21.) Is it possible, he asks, that, as is implied by some ideas of Christianity, this divine prayer, uttered on the eve of the sacrifice of Calvary, was not heard at all, or only in part, and as to one side of human life? The principle of brotherhood, he goes on, permeates the New Testament, but St. Paul's epistles, alike for the depth and the precision of their teaching, are especially the charter of Socialism. *For even as we have many members in one body, and all the members have not the same office; so we, who are many, are one body in Christ and severally members one of another.* (Rom. xii. 4, 5.) This thought is expanded in 1 Cor. xii. 14—27. Moreover St. Paul exactly pourtrays the relations of the two essential elements of social harmony, unity and diversity, community and property,—*Bear ye one another's burdens,* he says, and also, *Each man shall bear his own burden.* (Gal. vi, 2, 5.) Our author quotes also 1 Tim. v. 1. 2., Heb. xiii. 1. 3. 16., Phil. i. 7., and ii. 1-4. 6-10., 1 John iii. 16.

He then points out that in Christian eyes there can be no question that the origin of government is to be found, not where Rousseau looked for it, but in human weakness. Had there been no Fall, social life would have flourished in brotherly freedom, without commandment or obedience. The Church, he goes on, is, as now shown, eminently Socialist in its teaching, and was so in its primitive government also; especially it is Socialist in its sacraments which reconcile man to his fellows as much as to God, and in them above all in the sacrament of love, the central act of religion, the Communion, which unites to one another those whom it unites to their common Redeemer, consecrating equality and brotherhood, as well as consummating God's love. *We who are many, are one bread, one*

body, for we all partake of the one bread. (1 Cor. x. 16, 17.) And the Socialism of Christianity he contends, is principally preserved in the Church which glories in the name of Catholic.

In the Church's beginnings was exhibited the first model of the ideal society, the Communion of Saints. The early Christians, united in life and death, in faith and spiritual wants, no less than in material wealth, founded free and equal communities, where poverty and riches were no more; work was honoured, idleness scouted; woman was equal with man. Ever in the presence of God, they tested earthly things by the measure of heavenly, and loathed the artificial institutions of society when they looked at them in the light of the eternal laws of nature and righteousness. Tertullian said that the Cæsars could not be Christians, because if they were, they could not continue to be Cæsars; and he thundered on behalf of freedom of conscience and of tolerance; while Lactantius said that religion was as inviolable as the human will. Thus was the first of freedoms publicly preached; but in spite of this fair beginning, there were formidable difficulties to be overcome, and the great day of social righteousness was only to appear after long ages of darkness and barbarism.

The reign of Constantine, celebrated by panegyrists of theocracy, by historians who look only at appearances, by blinded Catholics, as the beginning of Christian society, was really a time of decay and abortion. The natural rights were still trampled under foot. Society was still pagan. Christianity merely lowered itself to the level of the old worship. Riches and power invaded the sanctuary, and with them pride and ambition, intrigue and servility. Brotherhood disappeared, vice raised her head, oppression flourished. The reason was that nothing was yet ready. The religious side of Christianity had drawn of necessity all attention to itself; there was no time to develop the budding ideas of equality and brotherhood. There had been no systematic attempt to apply the principles of Christianity to the affairs of the world, which was hated because it had crucified the Saviour. Christianity had to be established as a religion; the time of extending its purview to society was not yet. Moreover it was impossible to throw off in a day the yoke of habits as old as man. Why it took centuries to dispose of slavery alone! Laws, manners, customs, opinions, feelings, science, literature, industry, had all to be renewed from top to bottom. The new social man was not to be formed all at once. Meanwhile the most eager Christian found no difficulty in being Pagan in politics, not

feeling his dignity and rights as a citizen as he did his greatness as an adopted child of God; and the meaning of Christian society was so little understood, that the victorious Churchmen turned against their enemies the material force from which they had themselves so long suffered, though they did so at first with considerable compunction. This once done, not the spirit of the Gospel, but Gentile precedents, or the dead letter of the Mosaic law ruled, the Church absorbing the civil power, and crushing out all movement with fire and sword. Still we must remember that the power of the mediæval theocracy came from the great movement of unworldliness, of absorption in heavenly things, which had inspired the Church from the beginning, and had no earthly objects such as the Hebrew institutions had. It impelled whole populations into monasteries and scouted intelligence as a profanity; but in so doing it annihilated the old theory of civilisation and the tyranny of institutions over man; it set the individual free.

At last, Christianity had permeated the nations, and when a silence as of death was brooding over all Europe, when nature oppressed and enfeebled, seemed at her last gasp, humanity awoke, strengthened, rejuvenated, as from a refreshing slumber. In the Communes the true Christian society arose, in the bosom of the immensity of barbarism. An unknown force had been communicated to the human mind. The printing press and the mariner's compass were the first instruments of modern civilisation. Then the Ocean was crossed, the veil torn from the starry heights. Letters and art revived. The civil power claimed its independence; even the Church felt the breath of change. The excesses of the Papacy were no part, but a depravation, of the work it had to do. They sprang from its reluctance to surrender power once acquired, when its use was gone, a reluctance which still sways it, but will not do so for ever. The time will come at last when the clergy will throw off the yoke of Ultramontanism, and recognise the true glory of Christ, as the law-giver of the human race.

C. E. G. CRAWFORD.

(To be continued.)

THE ÆNEID II

Owing to Virgil's intense Roman and Italian patriotism, the *Æneid* is full of historical matter. References to all periods

of Roman history are worked into the poem by prophecies and other devices which show the poet's skill in the mechanical structure of the poem. In the *Iliad* there is an elaborate description of the pictures represented on the Vulcanian shield of Achilles, but the scenes of war and peace there portrayed are general. Virgil imitates Homer up to a certain point. His hero also obtains Vulcanian armour by his mother's influence and the poet describes what is represented on its surface. But the pictures on the shield of Æneas are distinct historical events, not mere typical scenes of the orchard, the vineyard, the market place, and the battlefield. "There the lord of fire, not unversed in prophecy, nor ignorant of future time, had wrought the fortunes of Italy and the triumphs of Rome; there he had carved every generation of the line that was to descend from Ascanius, and all the wars as in succession they were fought," so that Æneas lifted "upon his shoulder the fame and fortunes of his descendants"* from the founding of Rome to the battle of Actium, which the poet regarded as the crowning event of the history of Rome and therefore of the history of the world. On the shield might be seen the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the rape of the Sabine women, Metus Fuffetius torn asunder by wild horses at the command of Tullus Hostilius, Porsenna's wonder and indignation at the sight of Horatius defending the bridge and of Cloelia breasting the Tiber, a goose wrought in silver proclaiming to Marius the stealthy approach of the Gauls in their tartan clothes, the bounding Salii and the naked Luperci, the matrons in their carriages conveying the sacred vessels through the streets of Rome, Catiline suffering torment in hell and Cato the younger, republican as he was, in a place of honour dispensing justice to the pious shades; and, as the climax of the whole, the battle of Actium with all historical and poetical details. The great battle that ended the civil wars of Rome is one of the grandest pieces of word painting to be found in the *Æneid*. On one side are arrayed in battle order Antony with his oriental troops, and Cleopatra pale with the shadow of coming death; and on the other, Augustus and Agrippa supported to certain victory by Italian forces and Italian gods. Virgil's imperial patron is eulogised as the representative of order opposed to disorder, of the West opposed to the East, of Italy opposed to the world. Thus the whole ends with a magnificent piece of flattery all the more effective as it follows

* *Æneid* VIII. 731 (Globe Translation.)

immediately upon the honourable mention of Cato, which seems to give evidence of the poet's impartiality. This is one device by which Virgil works history into his poem. Another plan that he employs is equally felicitous. When Æneas goes down to hell he sees not only the shades of those that have lived, but also of those who are about to live, and are preparing for their coming existence. This gives a fine opportunity of going through the long roll of Roman heroes from the regal times to the Empire. In this enumeration hardly any of the great names are omitted, while here also, as in the description of the shield of Æneas, the most splendidly elaborated lines are reserved for Augustus. There are also less direct references to Roman history throughout the poem. The *Æneid* poem opens with the landing of Æneas at Carthage and the details of his visit there keep us constantly in mind of Rome's greatest struggle. The dire African is never mentioned by name in the poem but he is twice referred to. Dido, indignant at her desertion, foresees how well she will be revenged by one of her descendants. "Arise some avenger from my bones" she exclaims "to chase with fire and sword the Dardan settlers—now—hereafter at any time when strength shall be given. I pray that shore may be against shore, sea against sea, army against army; may both they that live now and their posterity be enemies.*" The gods know well the destined war between Rome and her grand adversary. Jupiter himself refers to the passage of the Alps when he unrolls the fates to the gods assembled in conclave. "The right hour of war will arrive" he declares "when fierce Carthage in days to come shall hurl on the citadel of Rome a mighty destruction, and open a way through the barrier of the Alps.†" But besides the two long elaborate poetical summaries of Roman histories given by Anchises in the lower world and embossed by Vulcan on the shield of Æneas, and besides the references to future events made in prophecies, the whole poem is also intended to be a literal history of the events that preceded the foundation of Rome and also to a certain extent an allegorical account of the characters of the chief actors in the civil wars that led to the establishment of the empire. Modern historians are not much inclined to believe in the credibility of early Roman history even with regard to the events that were supposed to have followed the foundation of Rome. But the Romans themselves were ready

* *Æneid* IV. 625—629 (Globe Translation).

† *Æneid* X. 10—13 (Globe Translation).

to believe stories of their origin going back to far greater antiquity. There is little doubt that Virgil, in describing the wanderings of Æneas and the settlement of the Trojans in Italy, thought he was only giving his countrymen a poetical amplification of real events connecting in the earliest times the history of Greece and Rome. The story of the descent of the Romans from Trojan immigrants was not only accepted by poets from the time of Nævius, but also was looked upon by grave historians like Livy and Sallust as clearly established. The Senate promised to make an alliance with king Seleucus, only if he promised to free from all burdens the people of Ilium, the relations of the Romans; and Claudius followed this precedent by exempting the same people from tribute for ever. Many other evidences are to be found in Latin literature to show with what implicit faith the legend of Æneas and his settlement in Italy was accepted by the Romans. Thus when Virgil made a poem out of the story, he treated it as historical fact and used all his stores of antiquarian knowledge to harmonise it with old Italian legends and customs, so as to give a consistent narrative of wars and treaties anterior to the foundation of Rome. There is also a certain amount of historical allusion disguised under the veil of allegory in the *Æneid,* although this has been disputed. Just as the characters in Spenser's *Faery Queen* besides representing virtues and vices also represent Elizabeth and her leading courtiers, so Virgil has introduced historical portraits among the characters of his poem. Surely it is obvious that the passionless religious Æneas with his fatherly love for the people whom he ruled is a character modelled on that "dull cold-blooded Cæsar," who was proof against the fascinations of Cleopatra and, whether hypocritically or not, professed to desire above all things a religious restoration and a return to the primitive Roman piety. Dido too, entertaining with luxurious hospitality the father of the Roman race, must have been intended to suggest to our minds the historical African Queen who successively received in her palace Pompey, Julius Cæsar, and Antony, just as her desertion by Æneas reminds us of Cleopatra's vain attempt to win the heart of Augustus. That Virgil was thinking of Cleopatra when he wrote of Dido is also suggested by the fact, that he describes both those ill-fated Queens as "pale with coming death" when their hour of doom is approaching. The use of this one striking expression, which is used nowhere else in the poem, to describe Cleopatra and Dido at the crisis of their fates shows how closely they were connected with each other in the poet's imagination. The character of

Turnus, in which *violentia* (violence) is the leading characteristic, in some respects resembles the thoughtless valour of Antony, who though far superior to Augustus in courage and generalship lost the world by his reckless imprudence. If Turnus is intended to suggest the character of Antony, there is no difficulty in recognising the unwarlike Cicero, who lashed Antony to fury by the fierce invective of his Philippic orations, in Drances, ready in tongue but feeble in war, the bitter enemy of Turnus against whom he directs all his oratorical powers. Thus directly and indirectly the *Æneid* is full of history as might be expected from the antecedents of Roman epic poetry, although Virgil unlike Ennius gives his poem real epical unity by confining the action of the poem to a limited number of years and artistically subordinating to the main action of the poem his frequent allusions to later historical events.

The last important aspect in which the poem is to be regarded is its philosophical side. We have seen that Virgil studied philosophy under Syro, the Epicurean, and that he intended after completing the *Æneid* to devote the rest of his life to philosophy. Poetry was to him quite a secondary interest as compared with philosophy. Happy above all men, he says, is the philosopher who can learn the causes of things and rise superior to all fears and the din of noisy Acheron. In this passage he is evidently referring to Lucretius who died in the year in which he assumed the *toga virilis* and was doubtless often quoted by Syro to his poetic pupil. For Lucretius' poem had a great influence over Virgil, who never indeed mentions the name of his predecessor, but shows his admiration by continual imitation of words and ideas. Virgil has left no exclusively philosophical work behind him but his predilection for philosophy, asserted in the life of Donatus, is confirmed abundantly by passages in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as well as in the *Æneid*. In the sixth *Eclogue* an Epicurean account of the origin of the universe is put into the mouth of the Satyr Silenus. Towards the end of the second *Georgic*, in the passage referred to above, he holds up the philosopher as the highest ideal of life in words referring to and partly borrowed from Lucretius, but professes however that, if his soul is not daring enough for philosophic speculation, he will content himself with cultivation of the worship of the rural gods. Besides this he expounds in the *Æneid* two celebrated philosophical theories, the pantheistic idea of the *anima mundi* (soul of the universe) and the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls.

The doctrine of the *anima mundi* seems to have been first pro-

pounded in Greece by Pythagoras who declared that there is a soul pervading the whole universe from which our individual souls are derived. From Pythagoras it was adopted by the Platonists and Stoics. The relation between the soul of the universe and the individual souls of men was beautifully illustrated by one of the ancient pantheists, who compared the soul of man to water in a pitcher floating on the ocean. Just as, when the floating pitcher is broken, the water it contains mingles once more with the great ocean from which it was originally derived, even so the soul of man at his death rejoins the great soul of the universe. Virgil expounds the doctrine in the fourth *Georgic* without however accepting it as his own belief. "Judging by these signs and guided by these instances" he writes after describing the reverence of the bees for their king "some have said that bees possess a share of the divine mind, and draw the breath of heaven; for they think that the deity moves through all lands, and spaces of the sea, and deep of heaven; that hence flocks, herds, men, every kind of wild beasts, each one at birth derive the delicate spirit of life; and so in course all things are restored to this fountain, and thither return again by dissolution; and there is no room for death, but each flies up into the place of a star and climbs the height of heaven."* At the time when he wrote the sixth *Æneid* we may suppose that he had definitely accepted the theory, as he puts it into the mouth of Anchises who doubtless in the fields of the blest had enjoyed every opportunity of fathoming the secrets of the universe. "First," says Anchises, "the sky, and earth, and watery plains, and the moon's bright sphere, and Titan's star, a Spirit feeds within; and a Mind, instilled throughout the limbs, gives energy to the whole mass, and mingles with the mighty body. Thence springs the race of men and beasts, and the lives of winged fowl, and the monsters ocean bears beneath his marble floor."† This doctrine is a favourite one with the poets, It is repeated in Pope's brilliant lines "All are but parts, &c.," and forms the subject of one of Tennyson's later poems. Similer passages may be found in the writings of Indian philosophers of the Vedanta school. For instance a passage quoted by Professor Monier Williams from the *Chandogya Upanishad* declares, almost in the words of the extract from the *Georgic* quoted above, that "all this universe

---

* *Georgics* iv. 219—227 (Globe Translation.)

† *Æneid* vi. 724—729 (Globe Translation),

indeed is Brahma; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes."

The theory of the soul of the universe is followed in the sixth *Æneid* by an exposition of metempsychosis, the two being in fact closely connected. Both doctrines were held by Pythagoras, and formed a basis to support the belief in the immortality of the soul. There is a well-known epigram that relates how Pythagoras once, when he came across a dog being beaten, had compassion on it and spoke these words "Cease and beat it not, for it is the soul of a friend which I recognise hearing its voice." This is just the reason which oriental believers in metempsychosis give when questioned as to why they are so scrupulously careful in abstaining from inflicting injury or death on living beings. According to the Brahman doctrine every soul goes through a cycle of many thousands of transmigrations into various kinds of animals and then returns to the body with which the cycle began. Virgil's doctrine does not burden the mind with such an immense number of changes, and does not make any mention of the transmigration from human to animal bodies, although Plato and other classical writers adopt that change also as part of the theory. When Æneas is being led through the lower world by his father, he sees an innumerable crowd of shadowy forms flitting through the gloom. He asks who they all are, and is informed by Anchises, that they are the souls of his descendants, who have lived before, and are fated to live again, in different bodies. The poet tells us nothing of the past lives or life of each, but takes the opportunity of celebrating the great deeds they will do in the future as citizens of Rome. According to Virgil every soul at death first goes to a kind of purgatory in Hades, where earthly stains are purged away by the action of wind, water, and fire. The souls remain in the lower world for one thousand years and at the end of that period once more return to the light of day. The doctrine is impressively declared, although there are in the details some inconsistencies not easy to reconcile.

In conclusion we must consider one characteristic which distinguishes Virgil from all other ancient poets and particularly charms the modern reader. I mean the importance he attaches to love and his idealization of that passion. It is true that Lavinia, the destined bride of Æneas is represented as being quite indifferent as to whether she marries Æneas or Turnus, but the whole conception of Dido is a passionate work, such as is not to be found elsewhere

in the whole range of ancient literature. The dawn of her love for Æneas, the conflict between her strong passion and her memory of her first husband, and the subsequent conflict between love for Æneas and indignation at her desertion are all described with great power. The magnificent episode of Dido's love and death more even than Virgil's tender humanity and the weariness produced in his mind by the problems of a highly civilized society like our own, gives the *Æneid* a modern tinge. No doubt modern literature is far too full of the tender passion. From a study of the novels, poems, and songs of the present day the student of a future age will conclude that the nineteenth century must have either been in reality excessively sentimental or will accuse us of affectedly laying claim to far more sentimentality than we really possess. How else could the extreme popularity in modern society of such songs as "In the Gloaming" be accounted for? In fact nine-tenths of modern songs would be rigorously excluded from Plato's Republic as being too soft and Lydian for a community that intended to cultivate manly virtues. What play or novel can satisfy the modern taste unless it is full of the quarrels and reconciliations of lovers! Our literature as a whole is more monotonously sentimental than that of any previous age, and in our eyes one of the chief charms of Greek Literature is the contrast afforded by its general freedom from sentimental descriptions of love. Mr. Lang's sonnet on the *Odyssey* brings out well the prevailing sentimentality of modern poetry as compared with the manly out-of-door freshness of the tale of Ulysses' wanderings, which rouses us, like a tonic, after we have been going through a course of modern books.

As one that for a weary space has lain
    Lulled by the song of Circe and her wine
    In gardens near the pale of Proserpine,
Where that Æaean isle forgets the main,
And only the low lutes of love complain,
    And only shadows of wan lovers pine,
    As such a one were glad to know the brine
Salt on his lips, and the large air again,
So gladly, from the songs of modern speech
Men turn, and see the stars, and feel the free
    Shrill wind beyond the close of heavy flowers,
    And through the music of the languid hours,
They hear like ocean on a Western beach
    The surge and thunder of the Odyssey.

The contrast here indicated may be applied not only to the *Odyssey*

but to Greek literature generally as opposed to modern literature. From Homer to Euripides love plays a very subordinate part. In the *Iliad* Achilles' wrath is caused by the abstraction of his slave girl, but so little sentimental affection has he for her, that he wishes that she had died rather than caused so much trouble. The poet does not allow her to speak a word whereas a modern writer would undoubtedly have made her one of the most important speakers and actors in the poem. Although the plot of the *Odyssey* turns on the return of Ulysses to his wife whom he had left a young bride, and contains the episodes of Calypso and Circe, the poem contains no descriptions of passion, and treats love in the most simple matter of fact manner. The great dramatic poems that have come down to us show the same tendency to keep love in a subordinate position. Of the seven extant plays of Æschylus, and the seven of Sophocles not one centres upon a love story and they contain no idealization of the passion except some splendid adumbrations in the *Agamemnon,* and the well known chorus in the *Antigone*. It is true that in the *Antigone* a young man called Hæmon is engaged to the heroine, but their affection is a very unimportant element in the action, which really turns upon the sisterly love of Antigone to her dead brother. The subject of the *Trachiniæ* is rather jealousy than love. Euripides has left us eighteen plays, one of the finest of which describes Phædra's unrequited love for the hero, but the seventeen others have different subjects. From one fact connected with a play of Euripides we see this difference between the ancient and modern drama clearly indicated. Goethe in his *Iphigenia auf Tauris* gives a kind of reproduction of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, but, although in other respects the play has the severity of an ancient drama, yet the German poet has to make it suit the taste of a modern audience by introducing the magnanimous self-sacrificing love of the barbarian prince Thoas for the Greek priestess, which Euripides had never hinted at. In fact the first long epic or dramatic poem which is chiefly concerned with love and its delineation is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. But that poem is little read, although it was imitated in many points by Virgil. The first really great world-known poem which described with a master-hand and in an ideal way the features of love is the *Æneid* of Virgil and this fact constitutes its chief charm to modern readers. This is not really inconsistent with the idea expressed in Mr. Lang's sonnet that a considerable part of the pleasure derived from the *Odyssey* arose from the absence of love-lorn pinings. The

sources of pleasure may be different and even opposed to one another. When we are weary of the sweet melancholy of modern poets, Homer is as refreshing as an Atlantic breeze. But then again in another, perhaps a feebler mood, we are pleased to find in a great ancient poem anticipations of modern sentiment.

M. MACMILLAN.

THE COMPANY'S "INVESTMENT" AND ITS EFFECTS UPON INDIA.

One effect arising from the peculiar character of British rule in India is that the past history of that rule is obliterated from the minds of those actually engaged in the conduct of the administration almost as soon as it can be described as 'past history.' The officials who helped to 'create' that history are absolutely withdrawn from the country, and spend their closing years in a distant island, where the people know nothing and desire to know nothing of what they attempted or achieved. The new generation which succeeds them, finds the routine of their daily work quite as much as they can get through; and there is not in India, as in England, a philosophical and literary class which make it their business to obtain from the experience of the past, a light and a guide for the future. Thus it has come about that to the present generation of English in India, the history of our administration anterior to the extinction of the East India Company already appears remote and far away like a sort of antediluvian period. It needs a not inconsiderable effort of the mind to realise that, dating from the battle of Plassey, the first beginnings of British rule in India do not lie more than a hundred and thirty years behind us. That the East India Company was, at one time, a trading Association is, probably, still remembered by most Englishmen; that it had an "investment," or what is implied in the term is certainly known to very few indeed; and yet, as I hope to be able to prove, in the following pages, these two facts—the one unregarded, the other forgotten—determined the whole character of our Indian Administration—its system of internal taxation, its relations with Indian Princes,—and were the efficient causes of that general poverty which baffles the ingenuity of all our Financial Members of Council.

Anterior to the battle of Plassey, the East India Company was only an Association of Merchants, enjoying a monopoly of British Trade with China and the East Indies, and until that victory its trade was carried on in a legitimate manner. Dutch, Danish, Portuguese and French Companies were likewise engaged in a similar traffic, and the commercial prosperity of India was never higher than at the moment when Clive's success over Suraja Dowla unwittingly dealt it a mortal blow. Although the profits of the India Trade were great, the English East India Company had been for many years, upon the very brink of bankruptcy. This was due to the inveterate animosity which existed between it and the French Company. The famous Dupleix—the chief of the French Factory at Pondicherry—was the first to conceive the policy of establishing a permanent ascendancy in the Continent by forming alliances with the native princes, and supporting these allies by contingents of native troops armed and disciplined in the European fashion. This policy once adopted by the French, the English had no alternative but to follow suit, or be driven out of the country by their more ambitious and enterprising rivals. They chose the former course, and thanks to the genius of Clive, after a long struggle, in which at one time they seemed to be ruined past recovery, they emerged triumphant, but bankrupt. Not only had the profits of their Indian trade been swallowed up in the costs of the war, but the whole of their subscribed capital. The latter was now represented by a debt of seven hundred thousand pounds, and for repaying this, for carrying on their India and China trade, and paying dividends to the proprietors of East India Stock, they did not possess one sixpence, except what they could wring out of Meer Jaffier Ali Khan. The battle of Plassey was fought in the year 1756, and from that time until the year 1765, when Lord Clive obtained from the Emperor of Delhi, "the grant of the Dewanny," the East India Company and its officials, great and small, pillaged the people of the Madras coast and the Gangetic Provinces without mercy. There was, in fact, a desperate race between the Company in its corporate character, and its servants in their private capacity, as to which should get rich the soonest at the expense of the country. The Company at first cheerfully connived in this enrichment of its servants, because the fortunes which they accumulated at the cost of the Native, exempted it from the obligation of raising their salaries which were, in fact, kept down at starvation point. But the experience of a very few years sufficed to convince them, that where the interests of the two

happened to clash, that of a Company in England would invariably be sacrificed to that of their servants on the spot. The horrible rapacity, too, of these servants had kindled a most formidable war in Behar, and although the Nawab, Kasim Ali Khan, had been defeated and driven out of the country, the Company perceived that its Indian trade could not long exist upon a system of brigandage pure and simple. Lord Clive was accordingly requested to return to India as the only man capable of evolving order out of the chaos. On arriving at Calcutta he seems to have been fairly staggered at the state of things he found around him, and it must have taken a good deal to stagger Lord Clive. "Such a scene" he writes to a friend, "of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption and extortion was never seen in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner. The three provinces Bengal, Behar and Orissa, possessing a clear revenue of three millions sterling have been under the absolute management of the Company's servants, even since Meer Jaffier's restoration to the Subahship, and they have, both civil and military, exacted and levied contributions from every man of consequence from the Nawab down to the lowest jemindar. The trade has been carried on by free merchants, acting as agents to the Company's servants who, under the sanction of their names, have committed actions which make the name of an Englishman stink in the nostrils of Gentoo and Mussulman; and the Company's servants themselves have interfered with the revenues of the Nabob, turned out and put in the officers of the Government at pleasure, and made every one pay for their preferment."

To the Court of Directors he writes—

"Upon my arrival I am sorry to say I found your affairs in a condition nearly desperate........In a country where money is plentiful, where fear is the principle of Government, and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the proferred means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion, in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort set by superiors could not fail of being followed by inferiors. The evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and military down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant."

The two chief steps taken by Lord Clive to remedy this anarchical condition were the prohibition of private trading and the

obtaining from the Emperor of Delhi, "the grant of the Dewanny." It is with the latter that I am mainly concerned here.

The grant of the Dewanny conferred upon the East India Company the right to levy the revenue throughout Bengal, Behar and Orissa, subject only to an annual payment of twenty six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor of Delhi. The fruits of the grant to the Company are described by Lord Clive in a letter to his "Honourable Masters" dated 30th September 1865. "Your revenues by means of this new acquisition will, as far as I can judge, not fall short for the ensuing year, of 250 lakhs. Hereafter, they will at least amount to twenty or thirty lakhs more. The Nawab's allowances are reduced to only two lakhs, and the tribute to the King is fixed at twenty six, and your Civil and Military expenses, in time of peace can never exceed sixty six lakhs. So there will remain a clear gain to the Company of 122 lakhs or £1,659,000." Great was the joy among the Proprietors of East India Stock when this delightful intelligence was communicated to them. They met forthwith, and voted themselves an annual dividend of fourteen per cent. out of the "territorial rents" (such was the official phraseology of the time) of their Indian Estate. Their exultation, however, was of brief duration. The Indian "Nabobs" who, after a few years spent in the East returned to England the possessors of colossal fortunes had given rise to the most extravagant estimates of the riches of India in the minds of their countrymen. And the news of Lord Clive's latest acquisition had no sooner reached England than the Ministry of the day began to indulge in ominous hints of appropriating for the advantage of the nation the Estates which Lord Clive had acquired for his "Honourable Masters." This million and a half of money, so it was said, might be applied to half a score of purposes of far greater public utility than the enrichment of a few greedy monopolists. For example the reduction of the National Debt, the support of the Established Church, the extension of our Colonial possessions, the lightening of taxation or other like object. The reason given in support of these proposals was that all conquered territories belonged, as a matter of course, to the Crown—that a trading Company deriving its rights from the Crown could not exercise sovereign rights in independence of it. The Court was greatly alarmed. It bribed the Ministry into silence by promising to pay half a million of money annually into the national exchequer, protesting with the utmost earnestness, at the same time, that it possessed no ruling power in Bengal, Behar

and Orissa. The sovereign of these provinces was His Highness the Nawab; the Company were merely his rent-collectors; and the money they got was merely recognition of their humble services in this capacity on the part of His Highness. Their instructions to Lord Clive were conceived in a similar spirit. "We observe" they wrote "the account you give of the office and power of the King's Dewan in former times was, 'the collecting of all the revenues, and after defraying the expenses of the Army, and allowing a sufficient sum for the support of the Nizamut (Criminal Administration), to remit the remainder to Delhi! *This description of it is not the office we wish to execute*..............we conceive the office of Dewan ....should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the Revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Company................This we conceive to be the whole office of the Dewanny. The administration of justice, the appointment of officers, Zemindaries—in short whatever comes under the denomination of Civil Administration we understand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob and his Ministers." In short, all that the Honourable Company desired was that £1,600,000 produced by the labour and industry of Bengal should be annually transmitted to them for ever—they in return, acknowledging no duties towards the people and accepting no responsibilities.

The Company's "Investment" consisted then of the whole of the surplus revenues of their Indian possessions. But it differed from a legitimate surplus in several important respects. It constituted a first charge on the revenues; it had to be sent out of the country whether there was a surplus properly so called or not; and its amount was fixed by the necessities of the Company at home, not by the solvency of the British Administration in India. The largest proprietors of East India Stock were retired Indian officials who had invested their savings in that form of security, and any failure in the "Investment" meant the bankruptcy of the Company and their own ruin. How completely the interests of India and her people were subordinated to those of the holders of Indian Stock, the following incident will show. In the year 1769, in order to provide the means for meeting the contingency of an unforseen war, the three Indian Governors proposed to accumulate a Reserve Fund of a little more than a million sterling; and for this object they proposed for a few years to cut down the amount of the 'Investment.' Nothing could

exceed the consternation of the Court of Directors when this horrible suggestion was placed before them. It was like the reading of their own death-warrant; and they replied, as much in sorrow as in anger,—"that however salutary it may be to have a view to remote events and to provide for future exigencies *after their investments shall have been carried to the extent requisite for the Company's immediate occasions*, yet in how unfavorable a light must appear the intentions of their servants to guard against remote and uncertain evils abroad by *leaving the company to sink under absolute and present distresses at home*." They then state the many demands they have upon them at home, and express the utmost astonishment to "see their servants entertain the idea of reducing their investments without absolute necessity and thereby depriving them of the only means they have to answer such demands." "*Every other consideration*," they add, "*is to give place to the essential and primary object of their investments*;" and they conclude by an earnest entreaty to their servants not to engage in any such revolutionary plans as "materially affect the very being of the Company" without their knowledge and concurrence.

The "Investment" as will have been seen from the foregoing extracts was not sent to England in specie, but in merchandise; and Mr. Verelst,—Lord Clive's successor—records that in five years succeeding the grant of the Dewanny, Bengal was, in this way, "drained" to the extent of nearly five million pounds in addition to having to defray almost the entire costs of the war with Hyder Ali which had been caused by the matchless perfidy of the Madras Government. Until 1833 indeed, when the Company ceased to exist as a trading corporation, "every other consideration" was regularly subordinated "to the essential and primary object of the Investment." Warren Hastings when asking for the support of the Court against the impeachment with which he was threatened, urges his claims on the ground that during his long administration, "the Investment" had not merely been maintained at a high level, but had been altogether supplied from current revenue. Lord Cornwallis, states in so many words that the chief advantage of our possession of the Gangetic Provinces is the provision of an "Investment" free of cost for the proprietors of East Indian Stock. Lord Wellesley, amid all his schemes of conquest, and the wars in which he was engaged, never allowed himself to forget the "Investment" and when Lord Moira arrived in Calcutta, he records, in his 'Private Diary' that the first business to which he applied himself

was the despatch of a large amount of gold bullion to the Court of Directors. It is the fact of this "Investment" which furnishes the explanation of the constant collision of opinion between the Court in London and the Governor General in Calcutta—the anxiously pacific counsels of the one, the uniformly aggressive policy of the other. The Court of Directors had no desire for empire. All they wished was to receive their "territorial rents" with quietness and regularity, and wars with Hyder Ali, Tippoo Sultan, the Mahratta Peshwa or the Nizam filled them with profound alarm, not from motives of humanity, but because they threatened to absorb the funds which created the "Investment." The Governors General, on the other hand, were in the position of men compelled to live beyond their income and therefore always on the look out for the means of increasing it, the easier to satisfy the incessant demands from London. The Company, none the less, sank deeper and deeper into debt. It was in vain that the cost of all its commercial operations together with that of its factories and other establishments, not only in India, but in China, in Prince of Wales' Island and St. Helena were thrown upon the territorial revenues of British India. The money thus easily acquired was squandered away with such recklessness that the Company lived continually upon the verge of financial ruin. Year after year, it was constrained to apply to Parliament for authority to add to its capital, and as regularly the interest on all such additions was charged upon the territorial revenues of India. Thus it came about that when in 1833, the Company was deprived of its privileges as a Mercantile Association, an investigation of the accounts laid before Parliament showed that had the revenues of British India been applied to their legitimate purpose—namely to defray the cost of the administration—they would have sufficed for this and for all the wars that we had waged, and furnished in addition, a surplus of thirty millions which might have been expended upon works of public improvement. As it was, the demands made upon India by the Company in its trading capacity had swallowed up this surplus. The Company had, further, contracted a debt of forty two millions with which the people of India had no more concern than with the debts of any other bankrupt firm in the United Kingdom. They had, however, been compelled to pay the interest upon it as it accumulated year after year, and now Parliament shifted the whole amount bodily to their shoulders. The Company, as a trading body, having ceased to exist, the debt which as traders they had

contracted, was charged against the Indian taxpayers, as if it had been incurred for political purposes and in their interests. Altogether, it was calculated, by Mr. Rickards and others, that, between 1761 and 1833 the taxpayers of British India must have supplied a sum of not less than ninety seven millions for the carrying on of the Company's commercial operations and the exclusive benefit of the proprietors of India Stock. This is independent of the vast fortunes accumulated during the same period by individuals and which went to swell the prodigious waste and depletion endured by India in consequence of the British conquest.

In estimating the effects of this drain upon the condition of the people, it must be remembered that the British India of those days was not the immense and consolidated empire of to-day. Indeed when the drain was at its heaviest, it may be said to have fallen upon a single province—that consisting of Bengal, Behar and the upper half of what we now call Orissa—with a resulting misery so extreme that it almost amounted to a dissolution of society. An alien rule set up in any country must always be a very costly contrivance for those who are subject to it; but in the early days of the Company there were certain vices in British Rule in India peculiar to itself, and the direct result of the commercial exigencies of the Company. The Company, as a commercial association wanted every farthing that it could get, and the consequence was that the government was deprived of the chief incentive towards an economical use of the resources of the country—namely the benefit thereby resulting to the people. No benefit accrued to the people from economy on the part of the government but on the contrary injury. For the money expended by the government was at any rate spent in the country, the money saved by it was lost to the country and the people for ever. The notion appears to have been that the wealth of the Gangetic Provinces was literally inexhaustible, and produced by some spontaneous operation of nature which would go on unaffected by the government being a good or a bad one. The one point to which the (so called) government addressed itself was how to obtain the largest possible returns for the smallest possible outlay. This bulk of the revenue came of course, from the land; and the English officials were perfectly well aware that the tenure of land in India was an extremely difficult and complex matter. To have appointed officers to ascertain the nature of the tenure, and then to apportion this incidence of taxation in conformity with the knowledge thus acquired would have been a tedious and a hugely

expensive operation. The demands of the Company were a great deal too urgent to admit of it. A far simpler and more expeditious method of procedure was to rent out the entire province to farmers. These farmers, at the same time, must not be taken from the Zemindars, as in that case there would be a combination among them to defraud the Company of its just "rights" by renting the lands at less than their natural value. To get from the land, the largest revenue it was capable of yielding, there must be an open competition for the right of farming it. Any man be he Zemindar or not, must have a right to bid for the privilege, and the estate must go to him who bid the highest.

As an illustration of the working of this system throughout Bengal, I will relate what happened in the district of Burdwan. This district was ceded to the Company by Meer Kasim Ali in 1762, and was at that time in a state of high prosperity. On its coming into our possession, our first act was to set aside the authority of the Raja in all questions connected with the assessment and collection of the land revenue. The lands were put up to public auction and leased out for the short term of three years. Men destitute of means or character flocked to the auction from Calcutta. All they wanted was to get the opportunity of squeezing the peasantry, and with that object in view, they cared not how high they bid. They were determined to enrich themselves; they had no intention of paying any thing into the coffers of the Company. In three years under the efforts of these harpies the prosperity of the district was blighted. The renters unable to discharge their obligations to the Company had fled the country; about half the district was lying waste and unpeopled, and there was a deficit in the collections amounting in two years to upwards of a crore and a half of rupees.

In 1769, Mr. Becher, the Resident at the Patna Durbar drew the following painful picture of the state of the country; "When the English received the grant of the Dewanny, their first consideration seems to have been their raising as large sums from the country as could be collected *to answer the pressing demands from home, and to defray the large expenses here.* The Zemindars, not being able or willing to pay the large sums required, Aumils (*i.e.*, Farmers) have been sent into most of the districts. The Aumils, on their appointment, agree with the Ministers to pay a fixed sum for the Districts they are to go to, and the man who has offered most has generally been preferred. What a destructive system is this for the poor

inhabitants! The farmers have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country when they make the collections; nor have they any certainty of holding their places beyond the year; the best recommendation they can have is to pay up their instalments punctually, to which purpose they fail not to rack the country where they make the collections whenever they find they cannot otherwise pay their instalments, and secure a handsome profit for themselves. Uncertain in their office and without opportunity of acquiring money after their dismission, can it be doubted that the future welfare of the country is not an object with them, nor is it to be expected in human nature. These farmers also have no check on them during the term of their employment; they appoint those that act under them, so that during the time of the year's collection, their power is absolute. There is no fixed standard by which they are to collect, nor any likelihood of complaint, till the poor Ryot is really driven to necessity, by having more demanded of him than he can possibly pay. Much these poor wretches will bear, rather than quit their habitations to come here to complain, especially when it is considered that it must always be attended with loss of time, risk of obtaining redress, and a certainty of being very ill used, should the farmer's influence be sufficient to prevent the poor man's obtaining justice or even access to those able to grant it to him. *On this distinctive plan, and with a continual demand for more Revenue, have the collections been made ever since the English have been in possession of the Dewannee.*"

Five or six years later, the Revenue Officers sound a deeper note of distress. "It is," writes Mr. Middleton in his official report to Warren Hastings, "too melancholy a truth that the whole country suffered a very dreadful depopulation at the time of the famine, and that the present business of the inhabitants manifests very clearly that the effects of the calamity still remain. Had the proper measures been pursued after that event, probably the effects of it might by this time have been felt in much less considerable degree; *too much regard having been then and thereafter paid to the realising of as considerable a present Revenue as possible, those effects have of course continued aggravating. When a considerable portion, supposed even a third of the whole inhabitants, had perished the remaining two-thirds were obliged to pay for the lands now left without cultivators.* The country has languished ever since and the evil continues enhancing every day. The settlement of the Rajeshaye province was unavoidably arbitrary. They were obliged to have recourse to the settle-

ments of former years, and did not take into consideration that those settlements were merely nominal. *The first remedy, without the adoption of which all other measures will be fruitless, is an universal remission of Revenue throughout the provinces.* Such remission should have been made immediately on the Famine. Its not taking place has made it more necessary every day, and the longer it is delayed the more ruinous the consequences must be to this country and its revenues. (5th Feby. 1775)."

"No one," writes another revenue officer at the same date, "I believe will assert that Bengal is in as flourishing a state at present as in the year 1757 when first we acquired an influence. Its decline arises from the decay of commerce, the drain of specie, and the loss of inhabitants. The reduction of the ryots' rents in the standard of what they paid twenty years ago, and the letting out the country, in fixed and easy leases for life would probably be very useful." It must not, however, be supposed that these native farmers enjoyed a monopoly in the pillage of the peasantry. They were zealously assisted in this business by European officials designated "Supervisors." Mr. Verelst was the first governor who had recourse to the aid of these "Supervisors." One Supervisor was nominated to each district, and it was his duty to protect the cultivators from the oppression of the farmers. Actually the Supervisors did nothing of the kind. They were mostly young men, knowing nothing of the people or the language, eager only to get rich, and altogether in the hands of their "banyans" or black agents. It soon became known in the service that there was hardly any appointment in which a fortune could be accumulated with greater rapidity than in that of a Supervisorship. A dexterous and unscrupulous Supervisor had been known to clear as much as ten lakhs of rupees in pretending to protect the ryots of a single district from the unjust exactions of the farmers. The posts were eagerly scrambled for by proprietors of East India Stock as snug berths for their sons. The demands of these gentry waxed more merciless as the increasing impoverishment of the people rendered the work of satisfying them more and more difficult. These excesses of the Supervisors grew in the course of a few years to such an extreme that we find the Court of Directors in 1772, ordering Warren Hastings to remove them summarily from their posts. They are, they tell him, in possession of information which will not permit them to doubt, that "many of our servants in the different districts of the country, appointed as Supervisors of the collection of

our revenues had, in manifest violation of our orders, entered into a combination, and unduly exercised the power and influence derived from their stations, in order to carry on a monopoly in the several articles of salt, betel-nut and tobacco; and that they had been so far lost to the principles of justice and humanity as to include rice and other grains in the same destructive monopoly, by which an artificial scarcity was made of an article so necessary to the very being of the inhabitants." They command him to "prevent the continuance of such proceedings as are, not only dishonour to our service, but a reproach to human nature." Warren Hastings, however, was not the man to carry into effect such orders as these. Rapacious and unscrupulous himself, he saw the extreme importance of keeping on good terms with the mammon of unrighteousness. This licence which he allowed himself, he was quite willing that others should enjoy also. And this was the secret of Warren Hastings' great popularity with his own service in India. Commenting in a letter to a friend upon the instructions of the Court of Directors, he says,—

"It was once intended to withdraw the collectors (or Supervisors) entirely. They monopolise the trade of the country, and, of course, prevent the return of specie by trade, since they trade with the amount of their perquisites. These perquisites I believe to be an oppression on the people, and an obstruction to the revenue. They are most of them the agents of their own banyans and they (*i.e.*, the banyans) are devils. And as the Collectorships are more lucrative than any posts in the service (the Government itself not excepted) we cannot get a man of abilities to conduct the official business of the Presidency without violence for who would rest satisfied with a handsome salary of three or four thousand rupees a year in Calcutta, who could get a lakh or three lakhs which I believe had been acquired in that space, and live at no expense in the districts? But whatever motive we had for recalling these officers, it appeared that there were amongst them so many sons, cousins, or *elèves* of Directors and intimates of the Members of the Council that it was better to let them remain than provoke an army of opponents against every act of the administration by depriving them of their emoluments."

"Our time," writes Philip Francis from Calcutta to a friend in London, (29th March 1777), "is now chiefly employed in doing jobs of all sorts, and giving away the Company's money by wholesale. These are liberal times, when every man who will sell him-

self may have his price. It brings to my mind the state of the French Government soon after the death of Henry IV when as Sully tells us, 'Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not without extreme surprise see that scarcely any business was transacted in the Council, but what related to gifts to the nobles—the augmentations of the pensions to persons in office—the paying of debts which had been abolished—the abatement of farms and discharge of the farmers and revocations of the contracts made for the rents—creation of new offices—exemptions and privileges—in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable.'"

ROBERT D. OSBORN,
Lieut-Colonel.

(To be continued.)

GOVERNMENT RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN TRAVANCORE.

In the Memoir of the Survey of Travancore (A. D. 1820) it is stated that actual enumeration gives nearly 22,990 as the number of temples and religious places of all kinds in the country. The Census of 1875, omitting those sacred places that are merely groves of trees or domestic shrines, gives the number of pagodas dedicated to superior (or Hindu) deities as 6,065—those of inferior deities (mostly aboriginal demons) as 3,242, total 9,307. Some of these are merely enclosures with images, or rude stones, but without roofing or buildings of any kind.

Of these, 378 important temples and 1171 smaller ones are now under the management and superintendence of the native government. Seventy five of them are of the class dedicated to the "inferior divinities."

These sacred places were established mostly in very ancient times and maintained by gifts or bequests, or, in many instances, endowed with lands by private inhabitants or by the former chieftains at the public expense. The Brahman priesthood have always worked for their own profit upon the ignorance, credulity, and superstitious terrors of the people, impressing upon them that their freedom from affliction in this world and their felicity in a future life depended on their gifts and bequests to them. As they were the writers and are the expounders of their law, they take every

opportunity of setting forth the duty of beneficence towards themselves. The most heinous sins are atoned for by giving them presents " Land given to Brahmans secures heaven; a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river Vaitarani; a house, a heavenly palace; an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat; shoes, freedom from pain when walking; perfumes, freedom from offensive smells; feasting of Brahmans, particularly at births, marriages, and deaths, the highest merit. The Brahmans oblige the other castes, in fact, when they condescend to receive their presents." (Wilson's Indian Caste pp 26. 27). The gift of gold especially has the highest purifying power. " Parasu Rama," says the Mahabharata " gave gold to the Brahmans and was freed from sin." On these antiquated and superstitious ideas are founded the religious and charitable institutions of the kingdom of Travancore.

Such gifts were also a means of obtaining undeserved praise from the educated priesthood and teachers of the age, as Bishop Caldwell aptly remarks of the Nayakas of Madura. " Their reigns record little more than a disgraceful catalogue of debaucheries, treacheries, plunderings, oppressions, murders, and civil commotions, relieved only by the factitious splendour of gifts to temples, idols, and priests, by means of which they apparently succeeded in getting the Brahmans and poets to speak well of them, and thus in keeping the mass of the people patient under their misrule." (*History of Tinnevelly*, p 62.)

These Travancore " Devaswam" or Temple lands were absolutely free from taxes of any kind. The administration of their revenue was under the direction of the Temple managers, who were vested with extensive authority, whose despotic influence over the people sometimes jarred with the powers of the State, and under whom great abuses and mismanagement prevailed. "The Devaswams," says Mr. P. S. Menon, " became possessed of immense wealth and landed property, to which numerous tenants were attached, and who established themselves as ryots or subjects, so much so that the Devaswam managers and trustees enacted rules and laws for the management of the property, and began to enforce these laws, independent of the king, within the limits of their landed property. Tradition shows that the life and property of the Devaswam tenants were at the mercy of the temple community. In every pagoda before the commencement of the annual Ulsavam festival, which generally begins by a flag being hoisted, such of the Devaswam tenants as had committed any breach of the rules were gibbeted

before the hoisting of the flag. By this arbitrary conduct, the sovereign power was overshadowed and the king became indifferent to the mode in which affairs were administered within the jurisdiction of the Temple lands." (*History of Travancore* p 79.) Such was the conduct of the Brahmans when entrusted with secular power.

The idea of assuming the immediate management of the principal temples and their estates, and thereby abolishing their independent control is said to have been entertained by Velu Tambi, Dewan, but it was carried into effect by Col. Munro in 1811 when acting in the double capacity of Dewan and Resident. The lands belonging to the 378 superior temples were leased out to the ryots and the expenditure on the temple establishments and services was settled to be maintained on a permanent and liberal footing from the public exchequer. These lands were reported to consists of 62,000 gardens and 548,000 paras (say 68,000 acres) of paddy land, the former then yielding a rental of about Rs. 50,000 ; the latter Rs. 350,000, total four lakhs of rupees. The 1,171 minor temples which possessed no lands were also assumed by the government and permitted to share in the proceeds of the endowments.

Respecting the assumption of the temples by the government Sir Madhava Rao remarked, "This was a step certainly in the right direction, in so far as it has had a very beneficial influence on a great mass of landed property which used to be mismanaged by the ignorance, caprice, and short-sighted cupidity of the heads of Pagodas. These lands are now treated by the State in a way not different from its own, and have therefore acquired a value which they could never have possessed before." Indeed it would seem that but for this measure the worship would probably have been more or less neglected and the temples in course of time abandoned to ruin through the gradual spread of enlightenment.

An additional income is derived from the daily or occasional offerings and presents received into the temples from worshippers and carried to the credit of the government. These consist of money, gold and silver images of snakes, jewels, and silk cloths. In some large pagodas there are treasure boxes which cannot be opened till they are filled to the brim. They are placed in front of the temple, between the shrine and the porch and votaries place their offerings themselves in the coffers. When opened, the proceeds are used for repairs or other extraordinary expenses. Surplus rice is disposed of; the priestly offices are also sold, or fixed fees levied on appointment to them.

A large proportion of the rents of the temple lands is collected by the government from the ryots in paddy, the remainder of the expenditure being defrayed from the treasury in ready money. Grants amounting to about ten thousand rupees per annum are also remitted to noted temples at Trichendoor, Rameswaram, Madura, Cranganore, and even so far distant as Benares.

Of the ordinary temples in Travancore seven are large and held in great esteem. Their establishments give occupation and furnish means of subsistence for 4,455 persons, superintendents, priests, accountants, musicians, watchmen and menial servants, about 1,500 of the number being Brahmans. The cost of establishments is Rs. 80,000 per annum. The remaining expenditure is incurred on account of rice, offerings, lighting, feasts, and feeding of Brahmans.

The receipts from assessed lands connected with these temples amount to over four lakhs per annum and from other sources, pagoda offerings &c., say Rs. 80,000, leaving some Rs. 60,000 yearly balance to be paid by the State. This however, does not include the expenditure on Ootooperahs or Free Inns for feeding Brahmans (three and a quarter lakhs more) nor special festivals as the Murajapam, Gold Weighing Ceremony &c., nor does it include considerable sums charged under the heading of Marahmut Public Works for repairs and renewal of temples and their towers, copper utensils, and roofing &c. The proportion of salaries should also be reckoned for a great amount of time bestowed by magistrates, adigavies and revenue officials on temple superintendence, business, and worship. The difference should also be taken into account between the real value of Vritty lands given free of assessment to provide cheap provisions for Temples and Ootooperahs, and lands granted to certain subordinates at low rent as remuneration for services in collecting supplies of provisions for the same institutions.

"The lands of Sree Padmanabha Swami (Temple in Trevandrum) extend over all South Travancore from Sherenghed to Thovally. The tenure which is pure Jenm (freehold and free of all tax) dates from very remote antiquity, and the lands formed the private property of the Pagoda long before the State of Travancore was solemnly given over in gift to the same Pagoda by two former Rajahs, the greater part in the year M. E. 933 (A. D. 1757), a small part in M. E. 973 (1797). The annual rental of these lands is about Rs. 73,000. By virtue of the half vote enjoyed by the sovereign, the whole management and supervision of the temple vests in the sovereign, who appoints the necessary establishments

and arranges for the due performance of service." (*Administration Report for* M. E. 1048.)

The Ootooperahs or feeding houses for Brahmans, (from *Ootoo*—giving rice) are forty-two in number, besides three conjee houses for various castes. They were originally established between A. D. 1754 and 1774 by the celebrated minister Ramiyen Dalavay. These free inns being situated at easy distances throughout the country, a Brahman travelling through Travancore need be under no expenditure for food. Pilgrims are fed to any number. The average expenditure is nearly three and a quarter lakhs of rupees, of which the free inn in connexion with the great temple at Trevandrum alone takes nearly the half, that is to say, costs nearly as much as the whole amount spent on education, science and art throughout the kingdom! This expenditure is not, like that of the temples, provided for by any endowments, but comes from the ordinary income of the State.

In some Ootooperahs only one meal a day is allowed in the afternoon or evening—in others both morning and evening. The meals consist of rice, and one kind of curry, chutney, and sour milk, except on festival days, when five sorts of curries are allowed, besides milk, gram, fruits, and rice boiled in milk—a wonderful contrast to the starving and over-worked low-caste population. The rule professes to be that neither travelling nor resident Brahmans shall remain in the same Ootooperah longer than two days unless from sickness or unavoidable causes.

The total number of meals given at the out-stations in M. E. 1049 was reported at ten and a half lakhs—yet the entire Brahman population of Travancore, rich and poor, is under 40,000. Surely the children's food is given to strangers and foreigners.

The general Ootooperah is at Trevandrum, attached to the pagoda of Padmanabha Swami. All Brahmans resorting to Trevandrum from the different districts, and all residents in the capital are at liberty to enter and take their meals both day and night. The building forms almost an annexure of the great pagoda, in the extensive corridors and galleries of which the actual feeding takes place. The number fed daily is on an average fifteen hundred at breakfast and the same number at supper. Uncooked rice is given to such classes of Brahmans as will not take their meals in this place. Brahman prisoners in the jail are also supplied, being taken under guard to a shed outside the jail for their meals. Various Nairs and other Sudras are also fed as remuneration for occasional

services for the pagoda or the palace. Brahmans are thus fed freely, and to an unlimited number; other high castes for services rendered; and the poor scarcely helped.

Some aid, it is true, is professedly rendered to the lower classes. Conjee or rice-water is given to Sudras and other poor people of caste who may happen to come in at noon. A conjee shed is attached to most Ootooperahs; for which the government has sanctioned a small provision of rice daily, but little practical benefit appears to result from this arrangement. There is also a small conjee house at Shencottah, and two large ones situated respectively at Tovala near the southern border and at Kunjuravila in Trevandrum, where conjee and rice are supposed to be given to all castes indiscriminately. But those are the only places provided to feed a large number of poor throughout the country and only conjee is provided late in the day, while there are so many establishments where Brahmans fare sumptuously at an enormous expenditure to the State. The "meals" issued by conjee houses in M. E. 1048, were in number 4,600,000, costing rupees 7,000 which, deducting ten per cent., for wages, cookery &c., would make each "meal" cost one seventy-third of a rupee. It may easily be imagined what kind of a meal can be given for that sum. And while professing to feed all classes, Pariahs are driven off at Tovala and Palayars can have no access to such places.

A highly useful expenditure is that of a small sum for water pandals for travellers. Less necessary however is that for grass for feeding the cows of Brahmans and others living near the temples. It is said that ten rupees a day are spent for this at Trevandrum.

In such a country as Travancore, (as indeed would be the case anywhere under precisely similar circumstances) great abuses and mismanagement are inseparable from these class institutions, so richly supported, and so secluded that Christians, Mohammedans, or inferior castes, can never enter or personally investigate the state of affairs in them—nor even the better castes beyond a fixed limit. The more lavish and inconsiderate the profusion, the greater the merit, seems to have been the principle followed. Peculation, waste, and malversation are admitted generally to have been the rule. "Institutions of the kind," wrote Sir Madhava Rao, "always require to be vigilantly looked after, as they are much liable to abuse; and when once abuses have taken root, it is very difficult to eradicate them. Much has been done in later years to contract the expenditure in this direction towards the limits naturally applying

to the objects originally contemplated in the establishment of these institutions, and considerable success has attended these exertions, which it is to be hoped will be further assisted by the diffusion among the bulk of the people of sounder notions as to the requirements of real charity." The amount of saving within one year (M. E. 1038) resulting from the close control specially brought to bear on the great Ootooperah at the capital was Rs. 30,000.

Dewan Sashiah Sastri also, who, though an admirable man in many respects, unfortunately laid himself out very much for the support of Hindu idolatry, in an able and kindly meant apology for these institutions, remarked "though the Ootooperahs are primarily intended for the relief of the poor and way-worn (*add* Brahman) traveller, they have come in some cases to be regarded as feeding houses for the poor (*add* Brahmans) of a resident population."

Even after all these attempts at reform a recent reviewer writes of the present state and management of these religious institutions—"The fact that the management of the Devaswam is left entirely to the Tahsildars, upon whose acts very little vigilance or supervision is exercised, tends to favor the view which we have always entertained with regard to these institutions, that, much that is put down as expenditure is the result of mismanagement, malversation, and waste. Very much that is credited to the Travancore gods goes into the coffers of village officials, Ooralers, and Tahsildars; and while these wax strong and fat, other modes of taxation have to be resorted to in order to supply wants which a careful control over the expenditure on Devaswams would easily furnish. What we must, however, emphatically condemn is the maintenance of the useless and expensive institutions called Ootooperahs. They serve no utilitarian purpose whatever, but promote indolence, sloth, gluttony, and cause much waste of public funds. The idea of spending so large a sum upon feeding hosts of Brahmans, many of whom are themselves menial officers of the State drawing salaries adequate to their position is most monstrous. Often have we passed some of these Ootooperahs while the Brahman lions were being fed; and the scenes of confusion, tumult, scrambling, and gluttony seemed most demoralizing. It is impossible to conceive the amount of waste and reckless abuse of God's best blessings, which are carried on in the remote country parts where Ootooperahs are maintained. To supply the "wants" of these Ootooperahs, an extent of oppression upon the ryots is practised which baffles enquiry or conception. Paddy, milk, butter, cocoanuts, jaggery, and every

conceivable country produce are pounced upon by the village officers with the knowledge of the Tahsildars; and the ryots from whom they are taken are paid much less than they are entitled to, and sometimes are not paid at all. The funds lavished upon this demoralizing institution could be well devoted to more useful state purposes; and we should be glad to see, for the state of the country and the well-being of the people, this item of disbursements sooner or later blotted out of the financial map of Travancore. Any Minister who seriously determines to grapple with this question, would be entitled to the heartiest sympathies and support of the Press as well as to the abiding gratitude of an ill-used population." (*Western Star*, September 1884.)

Foreign Brahmans are constantly attracted to Travancore from British territory and demoralised by this mistaken hospitality. During the famine of 1877, large numbers of Brahman immigrants were received to the great risk of the public health and the waste of public money, while the wants of Travancore were still great. The government spent large sums for these Brahmans, leaving their own poor unaided except by a trifling expenditure quite inadequate to the emergency. In 1881 also, many of the Sudra farmers while suffering considerably from dearth had their eyes opened to the nature of Brahmanism by seeing multitudes of native and foreign Brahmans sumptuously feasted during the great sexennial festival—the Murajapam—at Trevandrum.

Dewan Sashiah Sastri expressed the hope that "a large proportion of those now frequenting the charitable institutions will betake themselves to other and more honorable means of livelihood and be gradually weaned from habits of idleness and dependence, for there is a social stigma attaching to those who habitually live on the alms-house, and all those who have any self-respect avoid it as much as possible." But how can Brahmans be weaned from such dependence so long as this great temptation to indolence and obstacle to improvement is presented to them in every part of the country? Their self-respect is destroyed instead of being impelled by the ordinary motives which impel mankind into useful channels of activity. True charity would be to make them push their way for themselves as their fellows in British India do with much success. Popular charity growing cold in Madura is driving the Brahmans to useful employments, and they are sure to succeed. The Mustan Brahmans of Orissa, who handle the plough, glory in their occupation and despise the Veda Brahmans who live upon alms. The

old glory of the Brahman has departed, but he still marches in the van when his energy is usefully directed.

According to the Shastras, indeed, it is only true Brahmans, devoted to a sacerdotal life and observant of all the prescribed discipline and austerities of Hinduism, who should enjoy these high privileges and immunities, and be fed as a matter of religious duty, and whose prayers and merits will contribute to the welfare of the State.

The disendowment of the Temples of Travancore and appropriation of the funds to some better purpose for the public benefit can only be expected with the general consent of the people and their religious enlightenment and reformation, to which end a just and enlightened public opinion still needs to be formed. But the expenditure on Ootooperahs, which are of comparatively modern origin, dating from rather more than a century ago, might be at once decidedly and firmly reduced. The people of Travancore should be brought to know that the prosperity of the country does not depend on the favor and benediction of the Brahmans alone, but on quite other considerations—activity, progress, and popular education. Some more profitable and fruitful expenditure of the greater part of this public money might easily be found, which would tend to the greater happiness of the masses. Expended on the primary education of the poor of all castes, in addition to present grants, it might contribute in the highest degree to promote the social, material, and political welfare of the country.

S. Mateer.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Christianity and Social Life; A cour e of Lectures; *The Kingdom of God*, by Professor Bruce, D.D.; *Christianity and the Family*, by J. F. Ewing, M.A.; *Christianity and the State*, by D. Somerville, M.A.; *Christianity and Labour*, by G. A. Smith, M.A.; *Christianity and Socialism*, by D. M. Ross, M.A.; *Christianity and the Position of Women*, by Professor Lindsay, D.D. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace. 1885.

This course of lectures, delivered on Sunday evenings in two of the leading churches of Aberdeen and Dundee, is a most welcome and hopeful sign of the times. It is the fashion in many quarters to decry "poli-

ties in the pulpit" and to maintain the divorce as essential to the sacredness of the House of God and the spirituality of worship. And if by politics we are to understand the heated declamation of the hustings and the venomous satire of the party hero, by all means let the divorce be final. But these are but accidents of political discussion in which men have run to excess of riot mainly because their political thinking has not been leavened, and purified, and solemnized, by that high sense of public duty and personal self-sacrifice which it is the very glory of Christianity to expound and enforce. The Kingdom of God, which every ambassador for Christ is called upon to preach, touches every possible private and public duty, and finds a place in itself for all pure and enobling social or political institutions. And hence it seems to us that when the Christian preacher concerns himself only with the individual spiritual life of his hearers, and the doctrines of sin and grace, he falls short of his high vocation, and the pulpit loses the power it should rightfully wield. Such a preacher lays a foundation—deep and strong it may be—but he forgets to build thereon. Of course it is replied "Christianize every individual life and you will Christianize society, arouse and inform the individual conscience, and you will regenerate and purify the State." This is true but beside the mark. The Christianzation of the state should go hand in hand with the Christianization of the individual. And this can only be in proportion as Christian men realize their public duty, and Christian teachers enforce that duty.

"If," says Mr. Somerville, "the Christianization of the state means the subjection of its life and movements and polity to the influence of the Christian idea, and is the result of the action of Christian principle through the entire body politic, affecting legislation and public business, then every Christian man has a part to play in bringing about that result; Christian patriotism becomes a great duty, and public spirit an essential function of the Christian life. We have responsibilities to the social body. It is not enough that religion sanctifies our homes, that there be many private virtues amongst us. That is much, but it is not all. Religion is to sanctify citizenship as well, so that alike at the polling-booth, in the political committee room, at the municipal board, and on every occasion in which we are called to discharge public duty, we shall remember that we are Christians, bound to act in accordance with the spirit of Christ, and from a regard to the true interests of the community, preferring righteousness and all measures that promote righteousness to the triumph of party or the attainment of merely personal ends."

The two lectures in this admirable volume that have most interested us are *Christianity and Labour* and *Christianity and Socialism*. Mr. Smith traces briefly the history of the relations between Christianity and labour from the time when they first met, when "Labour was in chains and a slave." He paints in dark but true colours the condition of Rome before Christianity, by rolling the shame off labour, "made her mighty contribution to the creation of the free workman." The Christian prea-

chers of the fourth and fifth centuries were never tired of inveighing against the sin of slavery. They urged their hearers to teach their slaves some useful trade and let them free. Chrysostom especially was forward in this, and in much of his teaching anticipated the modern advocates of co-operation. "I venture to say from what I know of it," says Mr. Smith, "that one of the most interesting chapters on the history of labour has still to be written out of the homilies of the Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries.

From this Mr. Smith comes down to the present century, and dwells on the causes that have replaced the personal relations that subsisted between master and servant a hundred years ago by a purely commercial contract. The immense growth of production rendered it—

"Impossible for the master to keep up acquaintance with his men, so numerous had they become, and so migratory. The rapid increase of wealth and culture, disproportionately distributed, bore the master and his class out of touch with the workers, and thus were completed those divisions between Capital and Labour, which strained the social bands of Christianity and in places rent them asunder . . . . . . The moral results were fearful. For large masses of workmen in the so-called centres of civilization the security of the home and the health of family life became simply impossible. Workmen came to be known not as men but as hands, to be treated as slaves had been treated; that is, for mere profit, without respect to whether they were flesh and blood, far less as to whether they had souls.

"This was forty years ago, and there was one man in England at that time who had the heart of a Hebrew prophet within him, and whose heart overflowed in righteous indignation at the sight of it all. Many can still tell from personal experience of the publication of Carlyle's *Past and Present* in 1843. But it does not need contemporary experience to feel the force of righteousness that entered the nation's heart on that torrent of eloquence. This is now a matter of history. Yet, prophet as he was, Carlyle had, unlike his Hebrew prototypes, no gospel, no prophecy of a Redeemer. He confesses so himself, and it is with an unprophetic hopelessness that he turns to the past, and vainly wishes society back again among its old conditions. "Let the merely commercial contract" he says "between man and man be dissolved, let the old feudal, domestic, yea, even if it was serf-like, relation be restored." It was impossible, and Carlyle had no other plan of redemption for social evils upon which it will be his eternal merit to have awakened the conscience of England.

"The redemption, however, was perceived in a quarter with which Carlyle was acquainted, and which he utterly despised. A small band of clergymen and barristers under the leadership of Frederick Denison Maurice, then preacher in the Temple Church in London, were persuaded that in Christianity alone lay social salvation. Their hearts had been exercised by the position of the working classes and the immense inconsistency between the preaching of Christianity and the practice of Christians. With regard to these social evils, in which the working classes were the most involved, Christianity preached

the spiritual equality of all men as the children of one Father, co-operation and mutual bearing of burdens as the law of social life.

"From these principles christianity enforced the defence of the weak, the care and nurture of little children, reverence for the person of man and woman—man made in the image of God, woman of whom Christ was born. But Maurice and his friends said to the Christians of that day 'you are preaching all this, but you are not acting upon it. Your sermons to the workers, that they are spiritually equal with yourselves, seem mockery, when you keep education from them, and the possibility of pure homes, and when you deny to them the right of association. You are content with an economy of society whose one motive force is selfishness, and under its enchantment your conscience permits those ghastly contradictions to the gospel you profess; you allow your heaviest burdens to be borne by women and little children. You preach brotherhood, you talk of the dignity of labour, and yet you hold yourselves aloof from the working man; you despise him, you refuse him social sympathy, you deny him political equality.'"

The work Maurice began was followed up by Charles Kingsley, Ludlow, Hughes and others, and was by no means so fruitless as it has often been represented. It was "the story of Chrysostom and the rehabilitation of labour over again;" it restored to the working man, in part at least, the rights of manhood, and did much, and is still doing much, to destroy that prejudice against the labouring classes which is the great barrier to the full enfranchisement of labour; and if to-day the revolutionary socialism of the continent finds no seed-bed in England, it is because the labours of these noble and far-sighted men have roused the higher classes to a sense of their responsibility.

We do not altogether agree with Mr. Smith in his economical theories, but what of that? The results of this century's experience, as Mr. Smith himself points out, is utter unbelief in the utility of any merely economic or material system, and renewed faith in moral forces as the only real reformers. "Christian reformers, socialists, positivists and eclectic politicians, are nearly all abandoning mere theory and converging upon a programme of moral principles."

To Mr. Smith—and may we not say to every earnest man who honestly tries to read the signs of the times?—the present social agitation and the demand of the labourer for justice is big with prophetic import.—

"It is saying that life has become terribly earnest; that there is soon to be no place in society for the idler and the parasite. It tells us that men will become more and more impatient, not of the inequalities of life, but of the abuse of its wealth, of its idle luxury and drunkenness, of its extravagance and unthrift. It tells us that the old distinction between rich and poor may not indeed be done away with, but will certainly be ignored, that society will henceforth have room only for these two classes the workers and the sufferers, the strong and the weak. But has that not been Christ's own division from the beginning? How is it to be realized except through the meaning that Christianity

puts into labour, of *service*, and the duty that christianity lays upon the strong, of *sacrifice*?"

Mr. Ross's lecture on *Christianity and Socialism* is clear, thoughtful, moderate, earnest, and in every way excellent. It would be well if it could be read and pondered by every Christian man. We cannot but regret however that Mr. Ross should use the word *socialist* in the wide sense that he does. Apparently he would call every man a socialist who desires to see a fairer and more equal distribution of the products of industry. In this sense who is not a socialist? It is true that Mr. Ross follows the example set by Maurice and Kingsley, but we much doubt if either of these men would have called themselves "Christian Socialists" had they been living now. There is nothing more difficult than to redeem a word, and convenient and suitable though it may be in itself to denote the doctrines which Mr. Ross teaches, the word *socialism* is now so inseparably associated with revolutionary theories, that it seems to us a pity to prejudice doctrine so sound and wholesome by stigmatising it with such a name. The very essence of modern socialism is that it demands the direct interference of the State for the reconstruction of society and the redistribution of wealth, as the only and all sufficient salvation of the labouring classes. And this is very far from what Mr. Ross desires.

After pointing out that Christianity cannot in its very nature be indifferent to social questions, since it looks towards a Kingdom of God, or a perfected society, as the goal to be striven for, Mr. Ross goes on to consider those regulating principles of Christianity by which all schemes of social reform must be tested. In the first place the moral and spiritual, and not merely the material well-being of the people must be the ultimate object aimed at. Secondly, society must rest its industrial as well as its other relations upon a moral and spiritual basis. And, thirdly, individual liberty must not be sacrificed. He then goes on to ask what help Christianity can afford in remedying the evils of which socialists complain. Its main contribution is to be found in the moral power which it brings to bear upon the individual. But beyond this Christianity has much in common we are told with "the better forms of socialism." "The finest definition of a true socialism has been supplied by St. Paul. 'For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body, so is Christ. . . . there should be no schism in the body, but the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'" Christianity is at one with socialism in setting up the common good of the whole society as the end at which the individual should aim; in demanding that each individual shall render some contribution of service to the common good; and in seeking the elevation of the working classes.

Christianity moreover is interested not only in ameliorating the circumstances of the workman, but in asserting the dignity of his work. And lastly—

"Christianity has a message, and a very strong message, to deliver regarding the duties of property. It has little in common with that form of communism which consists in a demand for equalisation of all existing property. The community of goods established in the early church has sometimes been appealed to in support of communistic theories. But a community of goods established voluntarily by a society whose members were inspired with Christian love towards each other is widely different from a scheme which proposes to confiscate people's goods against their will for redistribution amongst all the citizens, whatever be their character. The one communism, as an acute critic has said, is based upon the principle—"What is mine is thine;" the other is based upon the principle, "What is thine is mine." The equalisation of property proposed by the latter kind of communism would, by putting a premium upon indolence, improvidence, and incapacity, destroy the very roots of much that is best in our Christian civilisation.

"But if Christianity does not demand the equalisation of property, it demands its moralisation. According to Christ no man has a right to do what he likes with his own property; each man is bound to use his property for ends, and by methods which Christ would approve. He is not absolute owner of his property; he is but its steward. If the law of the state gives him, and wisely gives him, large freedom in the expenditure of his wealth, Christ gives him no freedom outside the laws of his Kingdom. The use of his wealth must be regulated by his position as a member of a society whose moral and spiritual development he is under obligation to Christ to promote."

All this is surely the kind of teaching the world just now sorely needs. But it is not *socialism.* Would that it were!

The Mahdi, Past and Present; by Professor JAMES DARMESTETER, College of France. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1885.

There is nothing in this little volume that can claim to be new, nothing in fact that has not appeared again and again in the literature that the adventures of Muhammad Achmet have given rise to. All the same it is a clear, scholarly, and interesting account of the Muhammadan hope, and a brief history of a few of the Mahdis to whom that hope has from time to time during the last thousand years given influence and power. The substance of M. Darmesteter's *brochure* was delivered as a lecture before the Scientific Association of France at the Sorbonne on the 28th February last. It was then published with rather elaborate and extensive notes, and is now translated by Miss Ballin who adds additional notes and an appendix.

After discussing the formation of the idea of the Mahdi the author goes on to trace a few of the attempts that have been made to realize that idea, first in Persia, then in Africa, Turkey, Egypt, and finally in

the Soudan. We say attempts that have been made to realize that idea, rather than impostures that have endeavoured to fulfil it, because there can be little doubt that the great majority of the so-called Mahdis have been what M. Darmesteter believes Muhammad Achmet and his Tripoli rival to have been—honest fanatics. "Each Sheriff" says our author "who prides himself on being descended from Fatima, says in his heart of hearts, 'Who knows? Perhaps I may be the man.'" The Mahdis mentioned by M. Darmesteter are, of course, not a tithe of those known to history, but he names all of any importance—all who held their power for long, or founded dynasties—and some who did neither. That there should be a rapid succession of Mahdis is a most natural consequence of the belief that a false Mahdi will be the forerunner of the true one. One naturally thus makes way for another, and the very fall of one is a stimulus to the schemes of ambition, and prepares the minds of the faithful for a new allegiance. A Mahdi can thus hold his title only on the ground of success. Failure and defeat prove him an impostor, and even peace shakes the faith of his followers. With each it is progress and conquest or death. Now that Muhammad Achmet is dead—for there seems to be little doubt that the accounts of his death are true—it is more than probable that Muley Hassan Ali, the "Anti-Mahdi" as he has been called, will gather followers and reap credit from the failure of his predecessor. He had already denounced Muhammad Achmet as the Deddjâl or false Mahdi, and had in some quarters been well received. Miss Ballin tells us, quoting from an Arabic newspaper, that before March 12th he had entered El Obeid holding a drawn sword in his hand, which he declared had been given him by Muhammad to kill Muhammad Achmet and drive the infidels out of Egypt. He was accompanied by the Dervish of the district, and "the people bowed down before him kissing the ground and invoking blessings on his head." There is, alas, little hope that the death of Muhammad Achmet will restore peace to the Soudan.

One of the most curious passages in M. Darmesteter's lecture is that in which he compares the aspirations that centre for the Muslim world round the person of the Mahdi with those that actuated the chief spirits of the French Revolution:—

"Islam has reached its '93, and cannot be brought back again to '89. In spite of an infinite number of external differences, the same spirit is now urging the followers of the Mahdi which urged on the men of the French Revolution. To the thousands of people who are ready to die at his slightest command, and probably even to himself, the work of the Mahdi is to bring about the advent of justice upon earth. Remember the Prophet's definition of the Mahdi: 'A man who shall fill the earth with justice, as it is now filled with iniquity.'

"The Revolutionary idea among the French, and the idea of the Messiah among the Musalmans, sprang from the same instinct, the same aspiration—

among the former in a secular, among the latter in a religious form; among the former withered into abstract propositions and theoretical reasonings, among the latter in the spontaneous and striking form of supernatural visions.

On both sides we have the same striving for an ideal, tainted by lapses into greed and hatred; on both sides the same ignorance of reality, the same hopes contrary to the order of Nature, the same dream of a world regenerated by miracle, without any change in humanity, the same prodigies of enthusiasm, ferocity and devotion; on both sides the kingdom of equity, peace and brotherhood is to be established by means of a destroying angel."

M. Darmesteter's closing words are also well worth quoting, as indicating the quarter to which one of the most thoughtful of French orientalists looks for the salvation of the Nile provinces.

"Well! If European civilization cannot ascend the Nile, it has only to reach the source of it and descend it. This is quite possible. At the very gates of the Soudan a half-European power has slumbered for centuries, a power which has hitherto only occasionally appeared upon the scene to inflict a few short but sanguinary lessons upon Egyptian greed, but which one day will be the *Deus ex Machina*—this power is Abyssinia. At the source of the Blue Nile, cut off in a chaos of impregnable mountains, dwells a nation of strong passions, which is at the same time very old and very young, which has behind it long distant memories of power and glory, and which is beginning to dream of a future equal to its real or imaginary past. This people is Christian, and boasts its descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.* More than thirteen centuries ago it received from the Greeks the Christian religion and the germs of a civilization resembling our own, which only needs to be developed if Europe will lend its aid. . . . . One day, if we wish and will undertake the education of this infant people, the mountains of Abyssinia will be the stronghold whence European civilization shall dominate the Soudan.

"This is is not an affair of conquest nor of annexation; it will not be necessary to lead an Abyssinian army to the conquest of Khartoum; it is a matter of slow and disinterested action which cannot awaken jealousy, for all the nations of Europe can participate in it to the extent in which each inspires confidence. The European nation which shall do the most for the education of this people, which shall respect its weakness instead of speculating upon it, which shall develope its powers instead of using them as an instrument of personal ambition, shall make of this nation, now backward in civilization, an advanced guard against barbarism. Our civilization thus installed at the sources of the Blue Nile will slowly descend the valley; and who knows whether in these young and courageous hands it may not, when necessary, find a supreme resource against the dangers of a return to barbarism to which it is exposed by the senile quarrels of Europe fallen into its second childhood."

---

* John, the present king of Abyssinia, boasts a direct descent from king Solomon, and, although a Christian, is so proud of this, that he endeavours in every possible way to imitate his august ancestor. Some years ago he founded an Order of Chivalry which he called "Chatem Suleiman"—Solomon's Seal.

The Russians at the Gates of Herat. By CHARLES MARVIN, London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1885.

The Russo-Afghan Question and the Invasion of India. By Col. MALLESON, C.S.I., 2nd Ed. George Routledge and Sons. 1885.

Mr. Marvin's latest book is a good specimen of his vigorous style of writing, and well repays the reader who takes it up. It was "written and got out," he tells us, within eight days. It does not, however, show the defects which one would expect in such a hasty production.

The first part of the book is mainly historical and treats of Russia in the East, a knowledge of which it should be the business of every British subject to acquire. The following is from Mr. Marvin's account of Alikhanoff.

"This Alikhanoff is a very remarkable man. He was born at Baku, and by birth is a Daghestani. Russia's Asiatic subjects have a happy way of identifying themselves with their masters, which our language renders impossible in the case of India—they turn their names into Russian ones, by placing an "off" (son) at the end of them. Alikhanoff is simply Ali Khan, with an "off" added to it ...... He received a good education, and developed a remarkable talent for drawing. Skilful with pen and pencil, had he lived in England he would have doubtless become one of the foremost correspondents of the day."

He joined the army, but at the close of the Turkish war fell into disgrace on account of a quarrel with a superior officer, and according to the Russian practice was reduced to the ranks and sent to a frontier district in Asia to serve as a private soldier. This, however, only called out his military powers, and in a short time he was restored to his former position as the reward of his distinguished services at Merv.

Passing over the account of the swoop upon Merv and of the advance of the Russians to Herat—both of them full of interest—we come to a chapter on the question of the Afghan boundaries, where the position of Penjdeh is discussed and a map of the disputed territories is given. As to Penjdeh, Mr. Marvin strives to show that "the Ameer in occupying it simply occupied what Russian maps showed to be in his dominions." In treating of Herat, Mr. Marvin gives a decided answer to those "political flounderers who say that, 'after all, we doubt whether Herat is of any real value to India.'" The chapter opens with a quotation from General Scoboleff who in 1882 wrote as follows:—

"A body of European troops established at Herat and standing with its front to the South-East would draw upon itself the attention of the whole population of India. In that lies the significance of a military occupation of Herat; and it is not without reason that a number of English experts, knowing India well, have expressed their belief that were an enemy to occupy Herat with a powerful force, the English Army, without having fired a shot, would consider itself half beaten."

The facts which Mr. Marvin brings forward show that this opinion does not over-state the importance of Herat as the key of India.

"Herat," he points out, quoting from General MacGregor, "is the nearest and best point at which an invader could concentrate and prepare for an invasion of India—advantages which it gains from its beautiful valley, the fertility of which is unrivalled in Asia, from its strategical position, which gives it the command of all the important roads to India; from the great strength of its fortress, it being, in fact, the strongest place from the Caspian to the Indus; from its admirable climate, and from the prestige it enjoys throughout Asia." (p. 106.)

"Our Generals and the Generals of Russia value Herat, not solely on account of the resources of the district in which it is situated—resources in corn and beef, which, if swept into any point of the Herat district, not necessarily to Herat itself, would feed an army of at least 100,000 men, and sustain them during the final advance on India. It is this great camping ground, and not exclusively the town of Herat, that is the key of India. If a line be drawn south of Herat 100 miles to Furrah, a second west 70 miles to Kusan on the Persian frontier, and the third 120 miles north, behind the points occupied by the Russians, a rough idea may be formed of a district as fertile as England throughout, and possessing marvellous mineral resources. This is the camping ground, this is the place of arms which Russia wants in order that she may be always able to threaten India. There is no such camping ground anywhere between the Caspian and Herat, and none again between Herat and India."

In a forcible paragraph at the close of this chapter, the author "smashes into the lies that have gathered about the Russian claim," which he first "puts in precise language" and then disposes of with very little ceremony.

Mr. Marvin is throughout keen, though on the whole fair, in his criticisms of Russian intentions and of the statements of Russian soldiers and diplomatists, and, whether we agree with him or not in his conclusions or his predictions, we cannot read his book without profit.

Col. Malleson's book is a careful exposition of the Russo-Afghan question, bringing the history of it down to the latest "Russian move" in the matter of Penjdeh. After an introductory chapter, geographical and statistical, and an account of "Herat, or the Frontier of Afghanistan covering the approach to British India," he gives the history of the first connection between England and Herat in the time of Lord Palmerston's premiership. A description follows of the routes from Herat along the Heri-rúd to Sarakhs, and thence by the Khushk to its junction with the Murgháb; and from Herat, also, by the Kala-i-nan valley to the Murgháb. Here he quotes freely from the journals of the older travellers and compares their experiences with those of the companions of Sir Peter Lumsden who have written on the subject to the London papers. He also enters into a computation of the strength of the

Russian and English armies, and an estimate of the difficulties which Russia would be likely to encounter in the event of her precipitating hostilities with the Amir. Our space does not allow of our giving extracts from the book, which is clear and calm in style and sustains the author's reputation as a thoughtful and forcible writer.

The Pallavas. By the Rev. THOMAS FOULKES, M.R.A.S., Chaplain of Coimbatore. Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII. Part 2. 1885.

Mr. Foulkes has long been known as a careful orientalist, and his writings have always been characterized by that soundness of judgment and wealth of attainment which are essential to a historical investigator. Though the pamphlet before us consists only of 38pp. it is an excursion into the—to most minds—dry and repellent field of early Indian history showing infinite patience and care. Mr. Foulkes has sought rather to be a guide to students than to give a popular account of what is now known of Pallava history. On pp. 2 and 3 therefore, he gives what he modestly calls a "rough sketch of the bibliography of the subject" in which he enumerates no fewer than seventy-six books or articles by thirty-seven different writers, ranging from 1788 to 1884. He then goes on to elaborate a chronological table of the history of the Pallavas from A.D. 300 up to the 16th century. At every stage he gives references to previous writers. This table extends from p. 5 to p. 26 and thus forms the bulk of the paper. We have here a pretty complete skeleton of that portion of Pallavan history which is now fairly established. The preceding nine centuries (B.C. 600 to A.D. 300) constitute a "traditionary period" the materials for which Mr. Foulkes tells us consist of "scattered notices needing other light for their interpretion ; facts indirectly or incidentally supplied in the midst of foreign matter ; coins which have been but partially examined ; and very especially, remarkable architectural monuments whose origin and date are still subject to well-merited controversy."

Out of these materials Mr. Foulkes has constructed a chronological table (pp. 27—32) which however he does not put forward as anything but tentative. Its dates he tells us are open to re-arrangement and its facts to critical enquiry.

It will thus be seen that this little pamphlet forms an admirable guide-book for those who wish to study in detail that strange chapter in historical research which Mr. Foulkes appropriately calls the "rehabilitation" of the Pallavas,—research which within the last few years has filled up a great gap in the history of South India. Of the results of this research Mr. Foulkes does not speak too strongly when he says,—

"It has destroyed the old pet theory of the Dandakáranya in its numerous

shapes and chameleon colourings, which has so persistently claimed to be the key of the ancient history of the Dakhan."

Telegraphic Longitude Determinations in India, by NORMAN R. POGSON, C.I.E., F.R.A.S. and F.M.U., Government Astronomer at Madras. Madras: Lawrence Asylum Press 1884.

We welcome this volume as the first of a new series of publications giving the results of observations made at the Madras Observatory, and we trust that it will be speedily followed by others. The present volume contains details of the observations, and the final results for the determination of the differences of longitude between Karachi, Avanashi, Roorkee, Pondicherry, Colombo, Jaffna, Muddapur and Singapore, and the Madras Observatory. The observations were made by Mr. Pogson between the years 1871 and 1875 in co-operation with various Astronomers at the distant stations. The circumstance that different observers carried out the work at the different stations, and that it was in most cases impossible either to compare the personal error of the Madras observer with that of the observer at the other station or to interchange observers, leaves a certain, though small, margin for error in the final results which cannot be accurately estimated. There can, however, be no doubt that the results of the final calculations give a very close approximation to the true longitudes, quite sufficientl yclose even for astronomical purposes.

The publication of full details respecting signals sent and received enables a fair estimate to be formed of the accuracy of the work, and it certainly stands the test well. In some cases independent comparisons are available, as in the case of Roorkee in which the difference of longitude determined trigonometrically differs from that got telegraphically by 0·43 second. In the case of Pondicherry the difference is only 0·03 second. In working out the results a curious error showed itself in the Karachi observations made by General Addison. The results come out exactly ten seconds wrong and there seems little doubt that an error of ten seconds was made in the clock correction. The error was discovered by comparing the position of Karachi with that determined by a line run by the trigonometrical survey through Madras, Bellary and Bombay to Karachi. General Addison's determination for Karachi was used also for determining the longitude of Ispahan and was thus eliminated from the general result of the difference of longitude between Greenwich and Madras, so that no trace would be left of this serious error.

The accepted value of the longitude of Madras itself has been changed several times during the present century. The first determination by Mr. John Goldingham was made between 1787 and 1815 by eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites. These gave a value of $5h\ 21m\ 9{\cdot}4s$. Observations of

the same kind made in the next ten years reduced this by about 0·4*s*. The next Astronomer Mr. T. G. Taylor made a fresh determination by the far more satisfactory method of moon culminators and got the value 5*h* 21*m* 3·77*s* from a few observations in 1831. A still closer value was got by discussing the lunar observations between 1831 and 1844, *viz.*, 5*h* 20*m* 57·2*s*. The value now accepted is 5*h* 20*m* 59·4*s* and is a combination result from the telegraphic determinations of the longitude of Suez by the Transit of Venus expedition and the telegraphic determinations made by the great Trigonometrical Survey of India between Suez, Aden, Bombay and Madras.

We have avoided going into any details regarding the observations themselves or the method employed for their reduction, but we feel sure that all who have been engaged on work of this kind will at once recognize that the greatest possible accuracy has been obtained in the somewhat unfavourable conditions under which most of the observations had to be made, an accuracy amply sufficient for all present needs.

The Bombay Native Portuguese Community, by PHILIP R. VALLADARES. Bombay: B. X. Furtado, & Co. 1885.

Mr. Valladares' pamphlet reminds us on every page of that exquisite little "guide of the conversation in English and Portuguese," *English as She is Spoke*, by Senhor Carolino. Our author sets himself to expose the "deterioratory qualities and glowing drawbacks" of his fellow-countrymen, and, amongst many other remarkable things, he tells us how at a Portuguese marriage "carols roar with blithesome din." In the midst of much nonsense however there are not a few shrewd hits. Mr. Valladares' chief fault—misfortune, perhaps, we should call it—is that, being, as he tells us, "a junior student of St. Xavier's College," his genius has blossomed and borne fruit to early.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

Recommendation No. II of Cap. vii of the Education Commission's Report which urged the necessity of Educational Conferences has been adopted and acted upon by the Bombay Government. In a minute upon the Commission the Governor of Bombay pronounced himself in favour of such conferences, an expression of opinion which the Government of India "observed with satisfaction," and which led them to express a hope that early steps would be taken "to initiate and place upon a permanent and comprehensive basis the arrangements for Educational Conferences advocated by the Commission." By a resolution of the

Government of Bombay, dated December 8th, 1884, the matter was referred to the Director of Public Instruction in these words:—

"His Excellency in Council can entertain no doubt of the benefit resulting from the interchange of ideas and information on educational matters between all those, whether Government officers or others, who are interested therein, and deems it especially desirable that the managers of aided and unaided schools should have frequent opportunities of discussion with the officers of the Government Department. His Excellency in Council will be glad if the Director of Public Instruction will give his attention to this subject, which is important in connection with the efficient working and further development of the grant-in-aid system."

Mr. Lee-Warner—whose general policy since he became Director, coupled with the warm interest he has manifested in every species of educational activity, already more than justifies his appointment—lost no time in giving effect to these recommendations. A conference was arranged for, including educationists of all kinds, and a number of important questions were introduced for discussion. This conference met first on July 4th, and, after the appointment of a number of sub-committees to consider special departments of work, adjourned till the 18th, when it met to receive the sub-committees' reports. We have as yet seen only such reports of the discussions as have found their way into the papers and shall therefore refrain from making any remarks upon the questions touched. We suppose that at least the resolutions arrived at will be published in the organ of the Department—the *Bombay Educational Record.* We could wish to have also some of the discussions upon which the resolutions are based, which are sure to be full of interest and suggestion. Such conferences, we are confident, are likely to do much good, and other Provinces might, with advantage, follow the example Bombay has set.

The proposals sent up to the Madras Government by the Director of Public Instruction on the subject of Technical Education have been generally approved. There is, therefore, every likelihood that direct action will soon be taken to develope this branch of Education—a branch which has hitherto been sadly neglected in India. At home much attention has lately been given to the subject, and some of the English technical schools form models of what such institutions ought to be. In Madras we have the Engineering College, the School of Art, and the Agricultural College, each doing good work in its special direction, but we need something far more general and this is what the present scheme is intended to supply. The model which has been followed is that of the South Kensington Science and Art Department. That is, a series of examinations will be instituted in which, in all subjects where it is possible, actual practical work will carry half the total number of marks.

Liberal grants-in-aid will be given to schools taking up the subjects for these examinations. Further grants will be given towards the building and fitting of laboratories and demonstration-workshops and the purchase or rent of demonstration-farms. Grants will also be made both of money and specimens for the formation of museums. Science, Art and Industrial Scholarships, on a tolerably liberal scale, are also contemplated.

So far the scheme seems satisfactory, but when we come to the agency by which it is proposed to carry on the work we cannot say that we feel confident of the result. Mr. Grigg seems to anticipate that technical education will, in course of time, be taken up by most schools and colleges as a part of their regular work, and that meanwhile it will be possible to supply trained teachers from institutions already in existence, especially from the Normal School, after it has been moved out to Saidápet, and also from the School of Art. We doubt if this will be the case. There are at present a few orphanages throughout the country in which good technical instruction is given, and they will probably be able to take advantage of the provisions of the code as soon as it comes into operation; but we fear few other existing schools will take up these subjects at all. For our own part we should like to see a well equipped central school set up in Madras purely for technical instruction, with well-fitted laboratories and workshops where boys could be trained under skilled instructors. Such a scheme would undoubtedly cost a good deal of money at first, and there are no rich corporations here, like the London City Guilds, to supply the necessary funds, which would consequently have to come from Government. But we feel sure that the investment would, in the long run, be a good one, and that such a school would do more for the country in the course of ten years than could be done in twenty by the feeble action of a number of scattered and more or less unsatisfactory classes. We do not disapprove of encouraging the institution of local Science and Art or Technical schools—far otherwise,—but we do think that no mere system of examinations and grants-in-aid will do much good unless it be worked in connection with a well equipped central school in which the teachers, at least, will receive a thorough practical training.

"Many of my brethren have asked me what the Honourable Justice Muthuswamy Iyer's views were on the subject of Re-marriage of Hindu Women" says Mr. Ragunath Rao, our energetic Deputy Collector, whose eloquence in the cause of this reform we have often commended in these pages. And he proceeds—on what authority we know not—to answer the question. We should have supposed that Mr. Justice Muthuswamy Iyer was himself the person to answer such a question, and as Mr Ragunath Rao's pamphlet is composed of about twenty separate quota-

tions from (we suppose) public utterances of Mr. Muthuswamy Iyer, which the Editor weaves into paragraphs and expounds, we can well imagine that our excellent Judge may have found himself credited with opinions which he would disavow. Few even amongst Judges could bear to have their opinions determined by the trying method of elaboration which Mr. Ragunath Rao adopts. It is therefore a pity that the pamphlet does not bear the *imprimatur* of Mr. Muthuswamy Iyer himself. Assuming however that the publication is authoritative it ought to carry considerable weight to those orthodox Hindus who glory in Mr. Muthuswamy Iyer's sound judgment and high position. The quotations themselves are too long for us to reproduce, but we may find room for Mr. Ragunath Rao's summary of them :—

"The summary of the aforesaid quotations" says Mr. Ragunath Rao "is the following :—

(1) Hindu law and custom are "cruel" to women.

(2) They require "considerable amendment."

(3) He would aid "the party in favour of progress," first by "non-aggression" or enabling legislation to secure amendments.

(4) When the reform becomes national or very general, the reform party must be aided by such legislation as may now be aggressive and coercive.

(5) The right principle that man and woman must be placed on the same footing regading their right to marry, must be recognized.

(6) Non-virgin widows should be allowed to marry as much as virgin-widows.

(7) First marriages after maturity should be recognized as valid.

(8) A bride should be allowed to give herself away in marriage at any time after maturity.

(9) Alienations by a co-parcener of his undivided interest in joint property, to the extent of enabling him to make a provision for his wife or daughters, should be legalized.

(10) Movements for reform should be encouraged and aided by the State, because in so far as practical results are achieved by it it is a gain to the country."

After thus condensing Mr. Muthuswamy Iyer's opinions, Mr. Ragunath Rao goes on to say "But I do not want any reform if it be opposed to, or inconsistent with, Hindu law," and then he endeavours to show that, with one unimportant exception, Hindu law already provides all that Mr. Muthusawmy Iyer pleads for. Into this difference of opinion we do not care to enter. What one calls a reform of law, the other would call a right interpretatiou of law, but both—and this is enough for us—plead for immense and radical reforms in Hindu *custom*.

We have frequently noticed in these pages the rapid growth of the movement for supplying the women of India with female medical attendance and instruction. Within the last two or three years immense progress has been made in this direction. As usual with such reforms the work was first begun in connection with missionary agencies, but it has been taken up by others, and few, if any, benevolent enterprizes have been more heartily and liberally supported by wealthy natives. The growth of the "Medical Women for India Fund" at Bombay surprised even its most sanguine supporters, and there is now in that city an extensive work carried on by two English Lady Doctors. In Madras, through the energy of Mrs. Grant Duff, we shall soon have a hospital for 'gosha' women. A similar hospital is about to be opened at Lahore with an English Lady in attendance. At the same time important advances have been made in the medical education of women. Madras has all along taken the lead in this, but Bombay and Calcutta are beginning to follow our good example. At Calcutta, through the generosity of the Maharani Surnomoyi, a home is being built for the accommodation of female medical students.

Lady Dufferin could not therefore have chosen a more hopeful or popular field for the exercise of her benevolent activities, or one more richly deserving of all the support and prestige that her energy and name can give. We have little doubt that the establishment of "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund for providing female medical attendance for the Women of India" will give the movement a powerful stimulus and be the means of eliciting co-operation and support in many influential quarters. We are glad to learn that Lady Dufferin intends the new fund to have an Imperial rather than a merely local or Provincial character. Her Excellency's object is not to establish a hospital in any particular locality, but to assist in the introduction of female medical practitioners into the Native States, or wherever they are desired and are likely to be useful; and, as a preliminary to this, attention will at first be given to the education of female students in the medical schools and hospitals now open to them. The Fund therefore ought to draw support from the whole of India, and to command in time a considerable and steady income. It is gratifying to hear that already several Native Princes have signified their appreciation of this effort to benefit their subjects by promising co-operation and pecuniary help. The Rajah of Rutlam, when in Simla, entrusted Her Excellency with a sum of money to be expended yearly in training female doctors for his State. The Rajah of Ulwar has also made a handsome donation to the fund. Other Native Princes will doubtless follow suit, and we feel sure that in this way Her Excellency's effort will be crowned with abundant and complete success.

In connection with this subject the recently issued Report on the Civil

Dispensaries in the North-West Provinces gives some most interesting information respecting the operations of several Medical Missions to Women. At Bareilly there is a Dispensary for Women supported by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, and under the superintendence of Miss Swaine, M.D. Here no fewer than 6,810 cases were treated during the year under review. Miss Swaine gives the following interesting account of her work :—

"My practice has given me the opportunity of visiting the houses of almost every caste of Hindoos and Mahomedans, and I have every reason to believe, from the reception given me, that there is a growing confidence among the people in the skill and success of European physicians. Native *hakims* have called me to treat the women of their families, or advised others to do so, and among them, as among other classes, my reception has been all that I could desire.

"Mahomedans are, as a rule, more enlightened than Hindoos, and more ready to follow directions as to medicine, &c., but among Hindoos also there is far less prejudice than formerly, and it is the *exception*, and not the rule, when a patient refuses on caste prejudice to take any medicine prescribed. The women are very superstitious, and believe that many illnesses are the result of the evil eye or the possession of devils. Stepping over the water with which one has bathed is supposed to effect an unborn child in such a way that it may remain ill until it is twelve years of age. Such affections as these are supposed to be beyond the power of medicine, and can only be cured by charms and sorcery. But as the women see the good results of properly applied remedies, and have explained to them the folly of believing in such things, they gradually lose faith in the superstitions to which they formerly clung.

"Among my patients there are those who have called me to treat different members of their families from the time I first came to India, fifteen years ago, until the present date. Not only do they receive me as a physician, but as a friend, and our relations are of the same nature as is customary between doctor and patient in England or America. In my opinion, there is nothing equal to medical work as a means of gaining the confidence and affections of the people, and opening up the way for zenana teachers.

. . . . .

"Our hospital for women and children has been found eminently adapted to the requirements of the people. It has no wards, but is built in separate compartments, with bath-room and cook-room attached, so that, if desirable, strict *purdah* can be observed. This plan enables as many of the family to come with the patient as she sees fit to bring, and we can accommodate the highest and the lowest castes at the same time without fear of offending their prejudices. When, as is often the case, a whole family come, they are able to get acquainted with us; we learn to know and understand one-another, and this acquaintance is frequently continued long after the patient has left."

At Allahabad the American Presbyterian Mission has a Dispensary

under the management of Miss Seward, M.D., where 1,779 cases were treated. Miss Seward writes, in a letter to the Inspector-General :—

"As to the measure of success in medical work in the zenanas, and breaking down of the prejudices and superstitions which prevail there, the change I think, is a very gradual one. The opposition met with is chiefly among the older women, who are always the most bigoted, and intolerant of any change or innovation; and as they exercise supreme control in family matters, their influence is a formidable barrier to any real progress. There is however one branch of the work in which, in my own experience, a decided change has taken place. In difficult obstetric cases, beyond the management of their own midwives, all classes will now appeal to us, and this, though the most laborious part of the work, is really in the end the most satisfactory, as most of such patients recover; while in the general practice so many when first seen are incurable, or are taken away from us before we have been able to do them any real good."

At Lucknow the Zenana Medical Mission is at work under the superintendence of Miss Merston and Miss Roper. Here 64 in-patients and 1,800 out-patients were treated during the year. The following are clippings from Miss Merston's Report :—

"From the statistics you will see that the two dispensaries are well attended, and the number of patients has increased considerably since last year. One feature of my dispensary practice is that a large number of those attending are purdah women, some of them Mahomedans of good family, and high-caste Hindoos. Many of these could no doubt afford to pay for medical attendance at their own houses: but natives do not care to spend their money unless they are obliged (especially for their women); consequently many prefer to take the trouble of bringing their wives and daughters to me, rather than pay for their being visited at home. My rule is not to visit very freely excepting those who are too ill to come to me, and I think it shows some measure of confidence that the women are found willing to come, and their relatives to bring them, to a public dispensary for the sake of obtaining European treatment. I refer of course to the better class of women who seldom leave their zenanas. The little hospital I have in Zahur Bakhsh has shown signs of progress this year. We do not refuse any suitable cases, but it is especially intended for purdah women, and of these we have had several this year. I have a lady with me who has been trained as a lady nurse in an English hospital, and we have every facility for training nurses, as well as for securing the comfort of patients. I am anxious to see this part of the work increase, but Native women are with difficulty persuaded to come into hospital, and they often leave before they are thoroughly cured. We have had three operations this year under chloroform, and considering how timid the women are, this is a great mark of increasing confidence.

"One great difficulty with private patients suffering from general diseases is to keep them under treatment long enough. The cases for which I am consulted are nearly always chronic, and they consider a week or two quite long enough to try the experiment of European treatment. If not cured in that time they often return to their *hakims* and *dais*. There are some happy

exceptions, however, where patience has been rewarded and health restored after years of suffering. On the whole I think I may say that my professional work is a great means of breaking down prejudice, and removing distrust and suspicion, but these results must necessarily be attained by slow degrees, and every year they will be more manifest.

"If undertaken from philanthropic, and (I, as a missionary, may add) from religious motives, the work is most interesting and well worth doing in spite of its discouragements. So far, I have not found it very remunerative, though it might become so in time. Of course in my case all fees are the property of the Mission with which I am connected."

Honour to whom honour is due! To the present extended movement in this direction we give our whole-hearted sympathy and support, but we would not have the world forget—what it seems somewhat in danger of forgetting—that the seed which is now bearing such abundant and precious fruit had its origin in a band of noble-minded Christian women who, in the purest philanthropy and amidst many discouragements, consecrated their time and talents to the service of their Indian sisters.

In spite of the missionary activity manifested (somewhat spasmodically it is true) by the Brahmos, the *Indian Messenger* complains with reason that Brahmoism does not touch the masses.—

"The Brahmo Samaj is an institution whose religious significance is not yet apparent to them. They look upon the movement as one of the many strange things brought into existence by foreign education. And they have been allowed to continue in that sort of belief by our Brahmo preachers. No systematic efforts have as yet been made to reach these classes, to preach the truths of pure theism to them and to bring them back from superstition and error to a knowledge of the truth. Our preachers and Missionaries have mainly confined their exertions amongst the educated few. We have no separate class of preachers for the masses."

It goes on to advocate the establishment of such a separate class of preachers—men of simple habits and full of sympathy, who would study popular modes of preaching—modes "that are as well known to the people as their time-honoured institutions." But while these preachers should be characterized by "simplicity of life," "sociableness of temper," and "living love for those among whom they labour," the *Messenger* does not advocate Faqirism. The remarks which the writer makes on this subject are so true that we commend them to the attention of all who favour this method of missionary work:—

"In the first place if a man dresses himself as a *sannyasi* yet lives with wife and children, his peculiar dress will carry very little weight with the masses. They would simply look upon it as a mockery. It is true that the common people pay a sort of homage to that dress, but it is not because there is something in the dress itself, but because it indicates a certain mode

of life, the life of a perfect ascetic, one who has thoroughly abjured the world. Consequently in the case where there is the *gairic* dress but no perfect renunciation of the world, no cutting off of the ties of social life, the dress would simply excite laughter and derision. Secondly, the man who takes care to dress himself as a *sannyasi* but is lacking in sympathy, and does not share their joys and sorrows, or has not a sociable temper, his efforts amongst them in spite of the peculiarity of his dress, will avail but very little. Whereas if a man has true sympathy and genuine love, nobody will ever ask what is the cut of his garment or the color of the cloth with which he dresses himself. Thirdly, the adoption of a mendicant's dress would at once raise a distinction between the preachers and their congregation, would constantly remind those poor people of the superiority of the vocation of their teachers. This conciousness of superiority would check that *free, sweet, intimate,* and *brotherly* intercourse between preacher and congregation which alone is the secret of successful propagation. The missionary should be more a *brother* than a *priest*; and how can that object be realized, if by his very dress he constantly reminds them of the distinction that is between them? Of course those who consider that the relationship between the preacher and the congregation, should not be that of *brethren,* but of a *priest and people,* are reasonable in adopting a specially priestly and religious garb. But being deadly opposed as we are to the institution of an order of priesthood amongst us, we look upon the adoption of a priestly dress as a great error which will bring in course of time all the evils of priestcraft. Our missionaries to the masses should be *brethren* to the poor people and not their *priests;* and there is no other step better calculated to destroy a feeling of *brotherhood* than the *exhibition of superiority* by the adoption of a peculiarly religious garb. If any evil is to be jealously guarded against in the Brahmo Samaj it is *guruism.* Not *guruism* but *brotherhood* is our motto and war cry."

Sir. Peter Lumsden's paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on June 22nd adds much to our knowledge of the countries and tribes bordering on the Koh-i-Baba range, and shows very clearly that with a settled government that could secure peace there would be possibilities of great social and economic development—of a return in fact to the prosperity of an earlier age. Along the northern base of the Koh-i-Baba are a succession of fertile valleys, through which run streams formerly used for irrigation purposes. The marks of watercourses point out the lines of ancient channels, while in many places *karezes*—that is, subterranean canals—indicate a state of past prosperity and extensive cultivation. Towers and walls of still existing forts show that even in those far distant days property required protection, and the skulls and skeletons found on ancient sites, such as that of the castle of Gulran, seem to indicate that indiscriminate slaughter must frequently have attended the destruction of cities now long untenanted. At Bala Murghab, Karawal, Khana, Maruchak, and Penjdeh, besides in several other places, there are foundations marking the existence of former permanent bridges across the

Murghab; and extensive remains of large towns at Penjdeh, Killa-i-Maur, Maruchak, and Karawal Khana indicate a state of prosperity once existing in these valleys which has long passed away. There is a marked difference between the Afghans and Turcomans. In Penjdeh, the principal valley of Bagdis, Sir Peter Lumsden scarcely ever saw an armed man, and he found the Saryks an industrious hard-working race, at that time busy from morning to night in the excavation and clearing of their canals. They are stalwart men of good physique, resembling very much in character the Turks. A shrewd, hard-headed, practical people, they continually expressed their desire for security and permanent settlement. The Saryks, along with their brethren of the Tekke, Salar, and other Turcoman tribes, were for a century the scourge of Northern Persia; they swept the inhabitants away from valley after valley down the Heri-rud, almost as far as Seistan and westward, within 150 miles of Teheran itself. From the slave trade and plunder secured in these raids they amassed comparatively great wealth, and they seem now to be better off than most Asiatic races. The slave trade and raiding having been entirely abolished by Russia, these Turcomans now eagerly seek for a source from which they can secure wealth, and maintain their present prosperity. They own great herds of sheep, amounting in 1884 to an aggregate of 194,250, divided into flocks of from 700 to 1,500 each. They have hitherto generally disposed of their sheep in the Bokhara and Oorgunj markets. On the spot the price of sheep is from 4s. to 8s. 6d., according to age and quality, the latter sum being the price for a four-year-old; camels fetch about £6 10s.; horses from £13 to £25; bullocks, £2 10s. to £3; cows, £2 to £2 10s. and goats from 4s. 6d. to 6s. With regard to the Turcoman horses, the conclusion arrived at by the officers of the Boundary Commission was that the Turcoman horse has altogether been overrated, and that in many respects he is inferior to the numerous herds bred in more mountainous tracts, such as the Kuttighanie of Afghan Turkistan.

The Turcoman women do a vast amount of work: they fabricate carpets, purdahs for doors, work bags, horse clothing, nummads and blankets, and when a young woman is engaged it is thought to be the right thing for her to work all the kibitka domestic carpets and other household requisites before she is married. On marriage a dowry is paid by the husband to the parents of the bride. Such dowry generally consists of 100 sheep and 40 tillas, which the bridegroom either pays down in a lump sum or by stipulated instalments. The trade of Penjdeh is carried on entirely by Jews, of which there are some 20 families settled there, chiefly offshoots from the Jewish colony at Herat, which numbers something like 350 families. They have in their hands most of the trade with Balkh, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv. The climate is good, the winter is cold, and great storms are not unfrequent during the winter months,

indeed the Commission experienced one as late as the 2nd of April; the spring and autumn, however, are beautiful, and the summer, though hot, is nothing to the extremes of heat to which one is accustomed in the plains of India. It is possible even to live in tents or kibitkas, and under the shelter of a roof such luxuries as punkahs would be superfluous. With a settled Government and increased population there is no reason why this should not become one of the most prosperous tracts of Central Asia.

We observe with regret that, owing in part to the continued ill-health of its Editor, the *Bengal Public Opinion* has been amalgamated with *The Bengalee.* It is now six years since the *Bengal Public Opinion* was begun. For four and a half years it bore the name *Brahmo Public Opinion* and was the organ of the Sadharan Samaj. It was found however that secular subjects tended to monopolize its columns to the exclusion of religion, and consequently a year and a half ago its promoters changed its name and at the same time commenced *The Indian Messenger,* which was to represent exclusively the religious side of Brahmoism. From that time the *Bengal Public Opinion* has been the political and social organ of the Sadharan Samaj and has been ably and judiciously edited. Its amalgamation with the *Bengalee* will be a distinct loss unless it leads to a considerable change of tone in that paper. We are glad to find that the change in no way affects the *Indian Messenger.*

We are sorry to learn that the Madras Section of the Brahmo Samaj is so inadequately supported that Mr. M. Butchiah Pantulu, who for many years has been practically its leader, and who has devoted himself to its interests with great energy and zeal, is likely to be obliged to retire to his native village. This will almost inevitably lead to the breaking up of the Samaj which would in our opinion be a very considerable loss to the cause of progress. Although the Samaj has never had a long roll of members, it has nevertheless done much in the past to foster high spiritual aspirations and to promote those social and religious reforms which all lovers of India long to see. If it should cease to exist through lack of financial support, it will not be creditable either to Brahmos themselves or to those who sympathize with them. The whole sum required for the carrying on of the work is but thirty rupees a month, not a large sum for the friends of reform to raise. For the last twelve months the whole amount has been given by Babu Dêvendra Nath Tagore of Calcutta in the hope that in that time local arrangements might be made. Such arrangements have not however been made, and hence Mr. Butchiah is obliged to contemplate retirement. Surely if the circumstances of the case are known there will be found in the Madras Presidency a sufficient number of friends of the Brahmo movement to obviate

any such necessity. It will be a thousand pities if, after twenty-three years of life, the Madras Samaj is killed by the apathy of the public.

From recently published returns for 1883 we gather the following interesting statistics respecting the growth of literary activity in India. In that year there were registered in Madras 763 books and 55 periodicals, an increase of 77 over the previous year; in Bombay 1484 works were registered, an increase of 253; while in Bengal the number of works was 2218, an increase of no fewer than 650, the greatest increase being in books in Bengali, in which moreover a higher standard of excellence is noted. In the North-West Provinces the publications decreased from 1,193 in 1882 to 960 in 1883, but in the Punjab they rose from 1,198 to 1,786. The majority of these publications are of course of but a few pages only, and most of the periodicals are extremely trifling and ephemeral. But nevertheless the returns show a growth in literary activity that is gratifying.

SCIENCE JOTTINGS.

Professor Fleeming Jenkin, LL.D., F.R.S., died very unexpectedly on the 12th of June at the age of 52. By his death electrical science has lost another of the band of able men who by their energy and perseverance overcame all the difficulties in the way and finally succeeded in connecting Europe and America by a telegraph cable. Fleeming Jenkin after taking his M.A. degree at the University of Genoa studied civil engineering first in Marseilles and afterwards under Fairbairn at Manchester. In 1858 he was engaged on the testing of the first Atlantic cable and from that time onwards he was connected, chiefly in partnership with Sir William Thomson, in the making and laying of most of the important telegraph cables. His thorough knowledge of mechanical engineering and his business capacity contributed largely to bringing about the present perfection in cable making and cable laying machinery, by means of which cables can now be laid down with almost as much certainty as land lines can be erected.

As one of the members of the committee of the British Association on electrical standards, Professor Jenkin did good work, especially in making absolute measurements of the capacity of condensers, measurements which had never before been made. As an author he was best known to students through his work on electricity in the Text Books of Science series. This book formed a distinct epoch in electrical text books: it

did not follow the beaten track of describing simple qualitative experiments but showed how strict measurement could be applied to all electrical quantities. In fact it showed that the real student of electricity must replace the electroscope by the electrometer, and the Leyden jar by the condenser. Of course this had been taught before in a few places, but the practice of the laboratory and the testing room had hitherto found no place in elementary text books. Another treatise which showed decided ability was that on "Bridges" written first for the Encyclopœdia Britannica and afterwards republished as a text book for his class of engineering in Edinburgh University. Here the "Graphic Method" of calculating strains is clearly worked out in a simple way suitable both for the student and the practical engineer. Tbe latest invention which engaged Fleeming Jenkin's attention was that of Telferage* which he had worked out so fully in partnership with Ayrton and Perry that a line for commercial purposes is at present being erected at Glynder in Sussex. The electrical world can ill afford to lose the assistance of one like Fleeming Jenkin in its present stage of rapid progress.

The largest refractor in the Greenwich Observatory has an aperture of only 12¾ inches which compares very unfavourably with the large instruments in other Observatories, such as the 26 inch refractor at Washington or the 27 inch one of Vienna. It is now proposed to obtain a new object glass of 28 inch aperture and 28 feet focal length to be adapted to the mountings of the present south-east equatorial. The new object glass and fittings will be made by Grubb at a cost of about £3,500. It is certainly desirable that our chief national Observatory should be supplied with a really powerful telescope.

The discovery† made by Professor Oliver J. Lodge, that the discharge of electricity into a chamber full of dust caused the dust to settle very quickly seems likely soon to be made of practical use on a large scale. One of the chief difficulties met with in lead works is to condense the fumes of volatilized lead. For this purpose chambers which in some cases are several miles long are employed, but even then part of the lead escapes to poison the air. At Bagillt in North Wales experiments have recently been made under the direction of Professor Lodge on the effect of discharging electricity into these chambers and sufficient success was met with to make it worth while attempting it on a far larger scale. For this purpose two Wimshurst machines with plates five feet in diameter are to be used. These are placed in a shed where they can be kept dry and are worked by a small steam engine. It will be interesting to

---

* See Vol. i, p. 512. † See Vol. ii, p. 71.

know what results are obtained by this method after it passed the purely experimental stage and is managed by ordinary workmen.

A novel method of preventing collisions with icebergs in a fog is described in *Science* by Professor Graham Bell. The invention is due to Mr. Frank Della Torre of Baltimore and consists in the combination of a sounding apparatus, such as a gun, a siren or a foghorn, with a speaking trumpet. The idea is that with such an apparatus an audible echo can be obtained even from a comparatively small object at a considerable distance. Experiments have been made with a gun and a speaking trumpet which showed that a distinct echo was returned from a passing ship at a distance of a mile, so that the invention is evidently one that deserves a fair trial.

The effect which light produces on Selenium in changing its electric conductivity has long been known and has been applied to a variety of purposes. A new property has now been discovered by Mr. C. E. Fritts of New York and was recently described by Dr. Werner Siemens before the Berlin Academy of Sciences. A thin layer of selenium is spread on a metal plate and is then heated so as to change the amorphous into crystalline selenium, which is afterwards covered with fine gold leaf. When direct sunlight is allowed to fall on the gold leaf the conductivity of the selenium is increased from 20 to 200 times. With some modification in the method of preparation, which has not yet been made public, the plate ceases to become sensitive to light, but instead of this if the gold leaf and the base plate be connected through a galvanometer it is found that an electric current flows as long as light falls on the gold leaf. According to Mr. Fritts this action cannot be explained by any chemical or thermo-electric action but is due to a direct conversion of the energy of light into electrical energy.

Professor Palmieri recently read a paper on Atmospheric Electricity in which he summed up the results of his observations extending over a number of years, as follows :—

1. *Electricity with a clear sky.*—When within a circle of about 140 kilometres in radius neither rain, snow, or hail is falling, the electricity at the place of observation is always positive. If negative electricity is observed with a clear sky, downfall at some little distance may be inferred. As regards the daily periodicity of atmospheric electricity in calm, bright weather, two maxima and two minima may be recognised. The first maximum appears at the ninth hour of the morning; the second which is more decided, a little after sunset. It often continues during a great part of the night. Towards daybreak a minimum appears, and a second, less distinct, in the afternoon. This

daily period is easily disturbed by movements of the wind, by a cloud appearing on the horizon, by a mist rising from the Somma, and by other causes often hard to determine. It may be asserted that when the maxima are very considerable, or when decided maxima appear at unusual times, the sky on the following days will scarcely be serene. If the sky begins to be overcast, the electric indications grow stronger, and if at the time of the evening maximum the relative amount of moisture increases with a heavy dew, maxima of special intensity and duration may be expected. The general assumption that atmospheric electricity becomes stronger with the altitude has not been confirmed by the observations made simultaneously on Vesuvius and at the observatory of the University. The values obtained on Vesuvius were generally smaller. As regards the yearly periodicity, lower tensions are generally observed on hot summer days. In spring and autumn the indications are stronger. In winter the values are uncertain.

2. *Electricity with a cloudy sky.*—In the absence of distant rain, &c., the atmospheric electricity on cloudy days is always positive. It is less intense, more variable, and without a decided daily period.

3. *Electricity in time of rain.*—During rain atmospheric electricity increases considerably, both at the place of observation and at some distance, even though no lightning occurs; this increase begins and disappears along with the rain. Sometimes, if rain is falling at a certain distance, the atmospheric electricity changes its sign once or repeatedly. When the rain is falling the electricity is positive; this region is surrounded by a zone of strongly negative electricity, upon which again follows a second zone of strongly positive electricity.

4. *Thunder-rain.*—Between ordinary rain and thunder-rain the only difference is the more abundant development of electricity in the latter. The raining cloud must be regarded as a constantly flowing source of electricity. There can be no lightning without rain and thunder. The so-called "harvest lightning" is merely a distant storm. The sound of thunder cannot be heard beyond 21 kilometres, whilst lightning is perceived at a far greater distance.

These conclusions though no doubt accurate for Vesuvius do not hold for India or not at least for Madras. The main differences are that here we may have negative electricity without any rain falling either at the place of observation or anywhere near, that there is a minimum between 9 and 11 A.M., and that the principal maximum is rather before than after sunset, say about 6 P.M. The conclusion that so-called "harvest lightning" or "sheet lightning" is only the reflection from a distant storm is we believe by no means accurate. Such a reflection is often seen but true sheet lightning is, we believe, due to discharges taking place somewhat after the form of the brush discharge between two clouds close together or between different parts of the same cloud.

A curious mistake crept into our notice of the late Prebendary Webb last month when we ascribed to him the partially graphic method of calculating eclipses which was really due to Mr. James Pearson.

Those interested in photography will be glad to learn that according to Captain Abney the elaborate washing of prints which is required when they are fixed with hyposulphite of Soda can be avoided by using the sulphite instead. The following are the directions given for its use.

Sodic sulphite	100	grains.
Water	1	ounce.

Fix in this for at least fifteen minutes and then pass to a fresh 10 grain solution. After a few minutes wash in two or three changes of water and dry.

C. M. S.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

We question whether in the whole history of literature there has ever been pronounced a more brilliant eulogy than the one penned by Algernon Charles Swinburne over the grave of Victor Hugo. As we turn the pages of this article in the *Nineteenth Century*, paragraph after paragraph meets our eye, in which the whole wealth of the poet's imagination and brilliant diction is expended as a tribute to the memory of his hero. Mr. Swinburne may well be called a worshipper of the great Frenchman who has lately passed from us. In spite of his protest that his words are not to be taken as "the efforts of panegyric or dirge," but as the sober estimate of a loving disciple, most will regard them as a paean sung in memory of a departed master. He writes :—

"For us, who from childhood upwards have fostered and fortified whatever of good was born in us—all capacity of spiritual work, all seed of human sympathy, all powers of hope and faith, all passions and aspirations found loyal to the service of duty and of love—with the bread of his deathless word and the wine of his immortal song, the one thing possible to do in this first hour of bitterness and stupefaction at the sense of a loss not yet possible to realize, is not to declaim his praise or parade our lamentation in modulated effects or efforts of panegyric or dirge ; it is to reckon up once more the standing account of our all but incalculable debt."

With the extravagance of praise and worship which is called forth from a disciple in the first hours of loss and sorrow we have every sympathy, yet we do not think the critical and unprejudiced judgment of posterity, will confirm his estimate. For listen to his words :

"His spiritual service has been in its inmost essence, in its highest development, the service of a healer and a comforter, the work of a redeemer and a prophet. Above all other apostles who have brought us each the glad tidings of his peculiar gospel, the free gifts of his special inspiration, has this one deserved to be called by the most beautiful and tender of all human titles—the son of consolation."

"We know of no such great poet so good, of no such good man so great in genius ; not though Milton and Shelley, our greatest lyric singer and our single epic poet, remain with us for signs and examples of devotion as heroic, and self-sacrifice as pure."

"There was never a more brilliant boy than victor Hugo ; but there has never been a greater man."

Nor are these more than sparks from the glowing and overheated imagination of the writer. The whole article glows with unmeasured praise, and revels in extravagant epithets. No one can deny the greatness of Victor Hugo. The place he has won in the heart of the French nation, the revolution he instituted and carried out in French poetry, his wondrous versatility which placed him near the

summit in many departments of literature—all mark him as one of the greatest geniuses of the century. The place he has won for himself in the hearts of his people has been strikingly shown in the outburst of grief which has followed his death, and in the procession of over a million which accompanied him to his tomb. His permanent influence in French literature has been secured through his renewal and revival of the language, and by the change he has produced in the structure of metrical forms. He was essentially a poet, but he was also "dramatist, novelist, historian, philosopher and patriot," and in each department gained a prominent place. All this will be granted, yet this is very far from assenting to the exubrance of Mr. Swinburne's laudation.

Turning to the *Fortnightly* we are not surprised to find a criticism the very antipodes of Mr. Swinburne's :—

"In the intemperance of their adoration of him whom they called "Master" certain disciples vehemently intolerant, were not content that he should be recognised as the sovereign of words and the unquestioned autocrat of rhythms.

"Ever afterwards, throughout his career as a literary man, as a politician and even as a philosopher, he neither wrote, thought nor attempted anything without surrounding himself with *claquers* and flute-players, not like the triumphers of the Capitol of old, in order to remind him that he was a mortal, but to assure himself, on the contrary that he was a prophet and that he might well become a god."

"Let us take his best pieces and study them. What do we find in them? A commonplace. All are constructed upon truths which are really too incontestible and which raise a smile when they appear in all the nudity of their hackneyed simpleness, stripped of their rhetorical ornaments and of their clanging rhymes."

Between these two extremes there is room for the greatest diversity of opinion, yet we do not hesitate to predict that the ultimate decision of time, will assign him a rank far nearer the critical estimate of the latter than the exalted position of the former. With all the qualities of his genius—the sustained flights of imagination, the richness of his painting and music, the brilliance of his conception, he was yet far from being an accurate thinker, or free from the grossest insincerity. He charmed his nation, ever fickle, and led them captive by his imaginative power rather than educated them as a teacher. Form more than matter was the distinguishing feature in his poetry, and hence the charm he has ever possessed for the aesthetic school. To all who regard word painting and musical cadence as the one essential of poetry Victor Hugo will stand supreme, while those who regard poetry as the vehicle of thought, lofty and pure, will assign him a place lower in the scale of those who have enriched the world by their genius. If we estimate him by his moral character, and by the influence which his writings too certainly exert, we feel bound to protest against his elevation to the supreme position his worshippers assign to him. No brilliance will pardon impurity, no genius will cover immorality. The refined coarseness of much of his writing no amount of rhetoric will transform into virtue. Ignore the life of the poet—its sensuality and its selfishness—yet his writings themselves carry with them their own condemnation. No doubt vice is veiled, is clothed in the language of beauty of which he was a master, but no gilding or painting will ever change it into purity.

The *Nineteenth Century* gives us this month an article on "The Scientific frontier of India," by John Slagg M. P. After a general discussion, the conclusion at which he ultimately arrives is that to which general opinion of late has been gradually turning. To use his own words:—

"The policy of attempting to build out of Afghanistan a strong and friendly 'buffer State' must obviously be dismissed as absurd and impracticable. The second conclusion, which, if we are wise we shall unreservedly accept, is, that Herat is lost to us for ever. It follows that the future defensive line of India must be found on its own proper frontier."

An article of considerable interest by Capt. R. F. T. Gascoigne gives an account of the voyage of Sir Charles Wilson to within a mile of Khartoum. In a preliminary sketch we have an account of the advance of the small force under Sir Herbert Stewart and Col. Burnaby from Korti to Gubat.

From Gubat on the morning of the 24th January, a small force of a little

over 200, started in two steamers for Khartoum under Sir Charles Wilson; of these 190 were Soudanese Troops. For four days they struggled on continuously, now running aground, now fired at from both banks of the river, until finally within sight of Khartoum, they were met wiih a shower of bullets from some thousands of rebels. In spite of reports of the fall of the town two days before, Sir Charles Wilson had hitherto pushed forward, but at this point, on its being evident to all that Khartoum had really fallen, he gave the command to turn down stream. The reasons which brought them to this conclusion will be read with great interest. Capt. Gascoigne finally details the incidents and the difficulties, often extreme, in the return journey to Gubat.

"The Admissions of Agnosticism" in the *British Quarterly*, is an article of considerable interest, and well repays perusal. It is a critique—a sympathetic and favourable one—of a recent volume by the Rev. George Mathieson, D.D., entitled "*Can the Old Faith live with the New? or The Problem of Evolution and Revelation.*" No one acquainted with Dr. Mathieson's previous writings will be surprised to learn that the volume is marked by original thought. In this respect at least it surpasses the somewhat similar volume by Bishop Temple on Agnosticism and Faith, but we question whether it will exercise an equally permanent influence.

Every thoughtful man will welcome any attempt to bring into harmony the opposing systems of present-day thought. The very effort to find a common basis underlying the distinctive and widely-diverging systems insensibly brings the combatants to a better understanding of their opponents' position. Christianity at least need not fear the trial for its past history proves that the effect of every such attempt has been to lead men to a deeper appreciation of its great essential truths, however much it may have lessened their hold on certain traditionary beliefs.

Professor Murphy the author of the article points out the resemblance in certain points between Dr. Mathieson and Max Müller. "Both writers are compelled to endeavour to answer the question which stands at the beginning of every possible attempt at a philosophy of religion,—What is the nature of the faculty whereby we apprehend that which is directly made known neither in external observation nor in internal consciousness?" Whence in short comes the idea of the Infinite, the Divine? The gnostic reply is that God is known to particular men only in virtue of a specially imparted power of vision. The Agnostic reply is that there is no such faculty for knowing God. Against the latter both Mathieson and Max Müller maintain the presence of a faculty by which we may attain a knowledge of the Divine. Against the former they assert that there is no *special* faculty needed, that the knowledge is attainable "by the natural and right use of our ordinary powers."

"Experience and nothing but experience," we quote from Mathieson, "was the source of our information, that nature was inadequate to account for her own existence. No transcendental logic, no mystical power of abstraction, no special faculty conversant with the things beyond experience, would ever in this matter have possessed one tithe of the authority which was wielded by the testimony of experience itself, when it told us that the domain of visible nature was too narrow and limited to account for what we see."

This Invisible is substantially the same as Herbert Spencer's Unknowable. Thus far Agnostics and Christian belivers are on common ground, but here Agnostics stop. They assert no further knowledge is possible. What however have they already admitted? Far more than the inscrutability of the Power of the Universe. "They also recognize it as a Power, and assert its self-existence and eternity." Here we have at least the foundation for religious doctrine. If we recognize the Power, why not the holiness and the intelligence? If not in visible nature or in our consciousness, why not through Revelation? For agnosticism which admits—nay asserts—the existence of a power cannot deny the *possibility* of a revelation? After referring to this possibility, and to the *probability*, Dr. Mathieson points out the advance which agnosticism has made on the

old Deism. It may in some respects represent the Divine less adequately than did Deism but "it brings God nearer to us. The hidden Power of the universe is not conceived in Spencer's philosophy as indefinitely far off but as ever present and infinitely near.

"Agnosticism, alien as it professes to be to the spirit of religion, is yet rooted and grounded in the same principle which has ever given birth to the spirit of religion—the sense of mystery, the vision of the inscrutable in nature."

At this point the author passes to the distinctive principles of Christianity and one of the most beautiful of his specnlations, as pointed out in the article, is "on the place of suffering in the evolution of the moral universe."

"The very existence of a feeling of privation, which the environment of life cannot supply, is itself an infallable proof that the life to some extent has been enlarged and dignified—an unmistakable evidence that it holds within itself the prophetic anticipation of an environment more ample and more suited to its higher being... What is meant by that which is written on the very threshold of the temple of Christianity, 'Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted'?......It comes from the fact that the soul has obtained such an influx of life as to render the old conditions of life no longer endurable ......The sense of unfitness between the life and its environment must inevitably deepen with the enlargement of life itself; it will find its highest manifestation in man, and the most perfect illustration in the highest man. It will be felt increasingly in proportion as the ladder of evolution is ascended; and he who shall prematurely reach the spiritual summit shall be of all others the least in harmony with his environment. The doctrine of evolution coincides with the doctrine of the old faith in holding that the perfect man must be a man of sorrows."

The implication of course here is that the spiritual evolution will be continued in a future state where "the life and its environment will be in harmony with each other."

The conclusion at which Dr. Mathieson arrives is that the "natural philosophy of which evolution is the most characteristic doctrine, is not opposed to the teaching of Christianity; and may be made a basis for it."

QUERIES.

(1) *How do you say that Jesus Christ sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?*

The statement referred to in this query is a quotation from what is known as the *Apostles Creed.* Whether that venerable document date from the time of the Apostles or not, it is certain that it expresses their belief on the point in qnestion. The apostle Paul in numerous passages of his Epistles gives expression to this belief, as, for example, in Rom. viii 34, where we read: "Christ Jesus that died, yea rather that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God." The Apostle Peter in his first Epistle makes a similar statement; so also does the writer of the *Epistle to the Hebrews.* But we have if possible higher authority for this than that of any Apostle, *viz.*, the authority of Christ Himself. When He was tried before the Sanhedrim, Jesus said, "henceforth shall the son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God." Hence whatever evidence there is for the truth of Christ's claims to be the Son of God, there is the same evidence for the truth of the statement that He is now seated at the right hand of God. Whatever precisely may be meant by Christ sitting at the right hand of God, the expression is doubtless partly explained by what Christ said to his disciples before his ascension, *viz.*, "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth."

(2) *What is faith in God? Has any-body faith as described in the Gospels, so as to verify the statements made therein:—"Jesus answering saith unto them, Have faith in God. For verily I say unto you that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed and be thou cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith"?*

Faith in God is not merely the assent of the understanding to the truth of God's existence and character—an assent which differs from that of knowledge, by the subjective character of the evidence. It is this, but it is more. It involves an emotional and volitional element. It is *trust in God.* That is, it is preparedness to act in accordance with the conviction of the understanding, both in the way of passively submitting to and actively doing His will. The test of faith in God is implicit obedience to his will.

On two separate occasions Christ is recorded to have assured his disciples that if only they had faith in God and should believe without any doubt that whatever they asked in prayer would be done for them, even to the removing of mountains, it would be done. Some understand this assurance as merely an oriental hyperbole. They point to the fact that the Jewish Rabbis were accustomed to make use of the phrase "to remove mountains" in order to express the overcoming of any great difficulty. A great teacher, who could solve difficult questions, was styled a 'remover of mountains.' Others again interpret Christ's statement literally, but confine its application to his disciples. Then was the age of miracles. They were an accompaniment to the work of God for the salvation of the human race. That work was completed by Jesus and his Apostles, and what is now left to be done is simply the individual appropriation of God's work. Miracles have therefore served their day and are now no more to be looked for. Others still accept these words in their literal signification, and without any qualification as regards their application.

It is obvious that those who hold either the first or second of the above mentioned three views cannot be expected to cherish undoubting belief in the efficacy of prayer to work miracles. To do so would involve a glaring self-inconsistency. On the other hand there is no good reason why those who hold the third view should not believe without any doubt that what they ask in prayer will be done for them, even to the removing of mountains. And no doubt there are some who hold that such faith may and does exist, and that miracles are wrought in answer to the prayer of such faith. Our correspondent, however, seems to assume that no miracles are now wrought in answer to prayer, and that that fact proves either that no such faith as is mentioned above exists, or that the promise given to those who have such faith is illusory. Our own opinion is that, of the vast majority of Protestant Christians at least, no one now really expects a miracle to be wrought in answer to prayer and no one deliberately prays for such. This however does not prevent them from looking for special interpositions of Providence in answer to prayer. But these, however real, and however really they indicate the personal action of God in response to prayer, are yet not what we call miraculous. We believe, further, that this attitude of mind in regard to Prayer is in harmony with the method of the Divine government of the world as now carried on. As we understand the matter, we have now reached that stage which the Apostle Paul anticipated, when speaking (in the 13th chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians) of the supernatural gifts prevalent in his day he declares that they are temporary in their duration and are destined to give place to, not a lower but a higher order, in the following terms: "Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge it shall be done away." Regarding this same order it has been strikingly said, "this is indeed the great miracle of Providence, that no miracles are now needed to accomplish its purposes."

(3) *Was Lot a prophet? Why was he saved with his two immoral daughters and wife from the destruction of*

Sodom? Why was his wife only turned into a salt pillar?

Lot is nowhere called a prophet. He was delivered from the destruction of Sodom, as the Apostle Peter tells us, because, with all his faults, he was fundamentally, a godly and righteous man. "And delivered righteous Lot. . . . the Lord knoweth to deliver the godly." His two daughters and his wife were saved, not for their own sakes, but for Lot's sake. His wife ultimately perished because she looked, and probably lingered, behind, and was overtaken by and buried beneath the *debris* of the volcanic shower by which the city was destroyed.

(4) *Was Aaron younger or older than Moses? How was he saved when all the male children of the Israelites were thrown into the river by the order of the king of Egypt?*

Aaron was older than Moses, as we gather from *Numbers* xxxiii 39. He was probably born before the cruel order, to destroy all the male children of the Israelites, was issued.

(5) *Are children also punished by God? If you answer in the negative, to make good the words of Jesus, "But Jesus called them unto Him and said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not: for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," how is it then that we read "and he, Elisha, went on from thence to Bethel; and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city and mocked him and said unto him, 'Go up, thou bald-head.' And he turned back and looked on them and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she-bears out of the woods and tare forty and two children of them."*

The seeming difficulty of this question arises from the ambiguity of the Hebrew phrase, translated 'little children.' This phrase is applied in Hebrew sometimes to infants and sometimes to grown up lads of 18 and 20 years of age. For example, Solomon, at his accession to the throne, when he was 20 years old, speaks of himself as a 'little child.' It is evident from the context that the 'little children,' who mocked Elisha and of whom forty and two were torn in pieces by she-bears, were grown up youths, quite capable of knowing and realising the monstrous wickedness of their conduct in mocking a prophet of Jehovah. On the other hand, the 'little children' respecting whom Jesus said, "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," were, as Luke indicates, mere babes, who were as yet innocent of all actual transgression.

(6) *John baptized persons with water and said that Jesus would Baptise them with the Holy Ghost. How is it that the former way of baptizing persons by water is still preserved, while the other is quite unknown to all?*

The mode of baptism by water is still preserved in the Christian Church, because Christ commanded that it should be kept up, as, for example, when He said to His disciples. "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." That baptism with the Holy Ghost is "quite unknown to all" is a baseless assumption. Being a spiritual transaction, it can in the very nature of things be *known* only to those who experience it. It can, however, be *inferred* by others from the character and conduct of those who profess to have experienced it. In every age of the church's history, from its beginning to the present time, there have been multitudes of men and women who have declared that they have experienced this 'baptism,' *viz.*, the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit, and who have given evidence of the fact in the only way in which evidence of it could be given, *viz.*, by a regenerated life.

(7) *Is Christ always with his servants? If you say Yes, explain his words. "For ye have the poor with you always, but me ye have not always."*

Christ Himself declared, as in the passage quoted in the answer to the previous question, that He would be with his servants alway even unto the end of the world. Nor is there any real inconsistency between this promise and the statement quoted by our correspondent, *viz.* "ye have the poor with you always, but *me ye have not always*." The apparent inconsistency

arises from inadvertence to the fact that in the former of the above quoted passages Christ's *spiritual* presence is meant, whereas in the latter it is his *bodily* presence. Christ is always present with all his faithful followers in the sustaining, comforting and guiding influences of his spirit; in his Incarnate nature, as the Son of man, he has been absent from the world since his Ascension and will remain so until his second coming.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MERCARA, 29*th June* 1885.

TO THE EDITOR,

Christian College Magazine.

DEAR SIR,

In the Literary Notices of the May numbers of the M. Ch. C. M. you refer to a lecture by Dr. W. F. Gess on "The Right of Doubt and the Overcoming of Doubt" and express disappointment at the translation given and published treating only on the first half of the question.

The erudite, remarkably clear-sighted and highly gifted author, Dr. Gess, then Theological Professor at the Basel Missionary College, delivered, in company with several Professors of the University, a series of public lectures in defence of the Christian faith during the winter months of the year 1862-63, a period in the history of the Basel Church in which the attacks of the negative and destructive theological school were directed with unusual violence and bitterness against this stronghold of orthodoxy and practical piety.

The lecture referred to was the first out of three on the subject stated and I hope with you that the remaining two may likewise be translated and published, as they contain much matter that would specially interest the Hindu student, the learned author frequently alluding to Hindu religion and philosophy. As you have indicated the substance of the first lecture, it may perhaps be welcome to some of your readers if I, as shortly, give the argument of the two following lectures which are before me in the original.

The second lecture is headed: "Doubt and Conscience" and the third: "The Witness of the Holy Ghost." In these lectures the way is shown by which *every one* is to arrive at a complete certainty regarding the Christian Faith. This way has three stations. First: Attention (listening) to the conscience leads to the certainty that not the man of flesh and blood, but the inner, invisible, spiritual man is the real man and that the true value (estimation) of man rests upon his free obedience to an eternal law. Second: The seeking of the living God by prayer leads to the certainty, that this eternally in himself perfected spirit, who attests himself to our reason by the very existence of the world, by the presence of spirit-gifted men, and by man's consciousness of his responsibility, really exists, lives and is omnipresent, for he answers him who in prayer seeks him. Third: Whoever wishes (wills) to be certain, that Christ is the way to the living God, that Christ is the Truth and the Life, must hunger after righteousness, and then try whether in Christ the desire of his heart is not satisfied; upon this way out of Christ will flow unto him forgiveness of guilt, strength unto holiness, life in the eternal God, and whilst the Spirit of God assures him that all these mercies are imparted to him in Christ, he will with undoubted certainty know, that Christ really is the way, the truth and the life.

These three stations are the stations of *one* way only, that of the experience of our conscience, the one and only way by which everyone can arrive at the certainty of the Christian truth which is attested as such by the witness of the Holy Ghost.

G. RICHTER,

A grateful pupil of his venerable Master, Dr. Gess.